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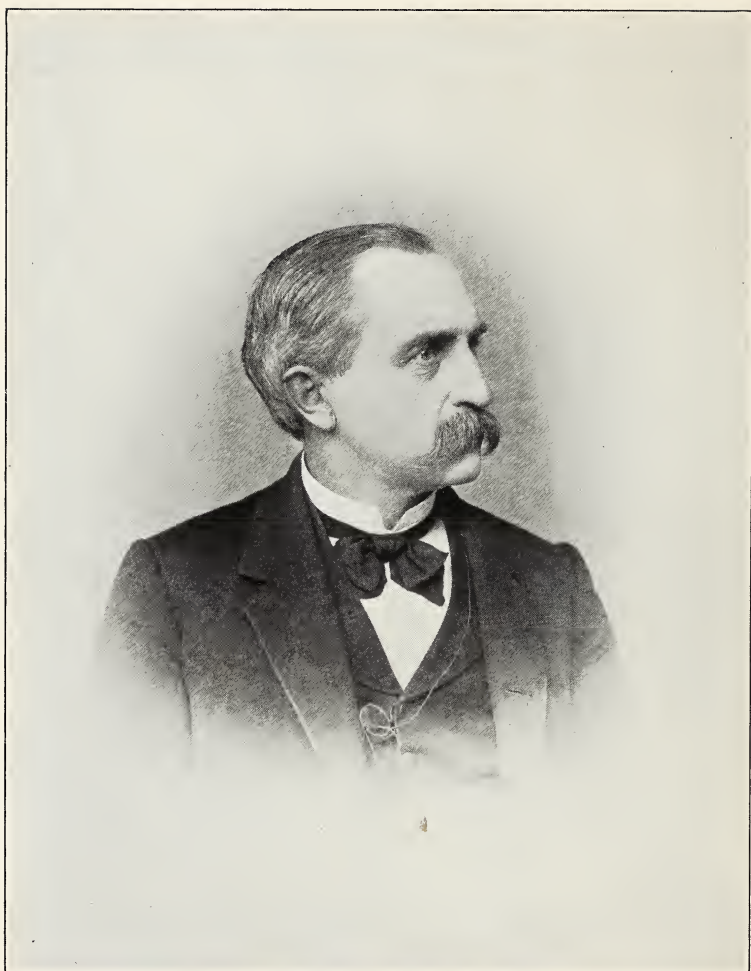
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The Reformed Church in
Pennsylvania

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THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



Faithfully Yours,
Geo. H. Debbes.

The Reformed Church

in

Pennsylvania

PART IX. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

By

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LANCASTER, PA.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the following paper the writer has touched but lightly on themes that were treated at length in earlier volumes of the PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY. It will, however, be observed that familiar episodes which have been necessarily excluded belong rather to the general history of the Germans in America than to that of any particular denomination. As the concluding chapters of the paper are brief, it may be explained that the writer did not understand it to be the desire of the Society that the recent history of the church should be more extensively treated.

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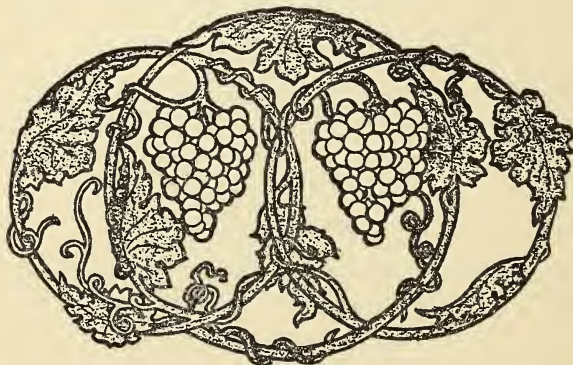
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PRELIMINARY.



THE preparation of a paper on the early history of the Reformed Church in the United States, though in many respects congenial to the tastes and studies of the writer, is not unaccompanied by peculiar difficulties. It is true that he has had some experience in this department of literary work.

Many years ago, when a mere boy, it was his privilege to gather and contribute certain material to Dr. Harbaugh's books on the early history of the Reformed Church—a fact which that author very courteously acknowledged in the preface to his "Life of Schlatter." The interest thus excited has never declined, and in several publications on the same general subject he has endeavored to present in historical form such additional material as has come to his hands. It might, therefore, be readily supposed that it would be an easy task to prepare a monograph on a theme that has necessarily become familiar ; but every

writer will confess that in such cases the reverse is actually the case. It is felt that to tell a thrice-told tale would serve no useful purpose; and yet in a work of this kind the outlines must necessarily remain the same in each successive publication, though in the space afforded there is hardly room for the accumulation of such details as might serve to add freshness and interest. If the author understands the purpose of his appointment, it is, however, not intended that he should enter with the zeal of the specialist into certain minor branches of the subject, but rather that he should present a bird's-eye view of the founding and progress of the Reformed Church, especially in Pennsylvania. With this in mind he has not ventured to write a consecutive history—which would necessarily extend far beyond the space at his disposal—but has thought it preferable to prepare a series of historical sketches or chapters, that, taken together, might serve to convey an idea of the development of his theme. It must be understood that, though our attention is chiefly directed to the history of Pennsylvania, it is impossible to separate it mechanically from that of other states in the American Union.

Our subject, it is plain, affords abundant material. In certain of its branches there is, indeed, an *embarras de richesse*. The series of monographs included in the successive publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society, it need hardly be remarked, contains much matter that might be used to advantage in an elaborate history of the Reformed Church; but to relate again the story of the German migration to America—which has been so well told in earlier volumes of the present series—appears to be a superfluous task, though it is well known that the Reformed Church bore its full share in the trials of that momentous epoch.

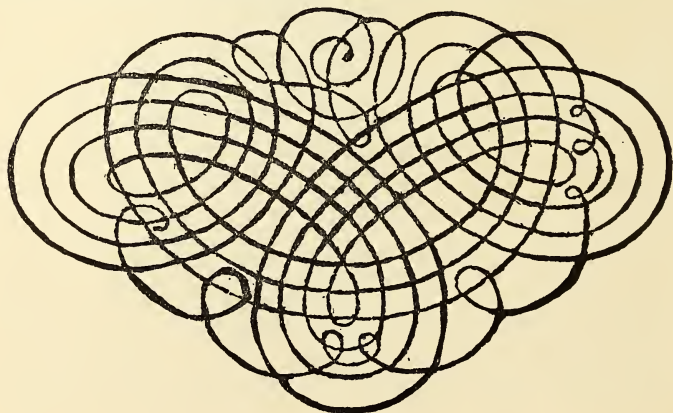
If any one should undertake to prepare a full account of the relations of the Reformed Church of this country with the church of Holland, extending through the greater part of the eighteenth century, he might well be disturbed by the abundance of the material which has recently come to light. The transcripts of historical documents made by the Rev. Dr. Lewis Mayer, and a large volume of original correspondence collected by the Rev. Dr. Henry Harbaugh, it is true, have long been in the possession of the church; and the valuable archives of the Dutch Church, at New Brunswick, New Jersey, have always been accessible; but by the recent researches in Europe of Mr. Henry S. Dotterer, the Rev. Dr. James I. Good, the Rev. Prof. William J. Hinke, and possibly others, the amount of material for historical research has been greatly augmented. Light has been cast on obscure places and more than one *hiatus* has been filled. It is, however, not too much to say that years must pass before this mass of material has been fully compared and assimilated, and that plenty of work is left for the future historian. Dr. Good has published a valuable book¹ in which recently-discovered facts have been utilized, and Professor Hinke and Mr. Dotterer have prepared exhaustive monographs, to all of which we shall have frequent occasion to refer. In the present paper we shall try to give due credit for new material; but if this should at any time be neglected, we hope this general acknowledgment may serve in part to excuse the delinquency.

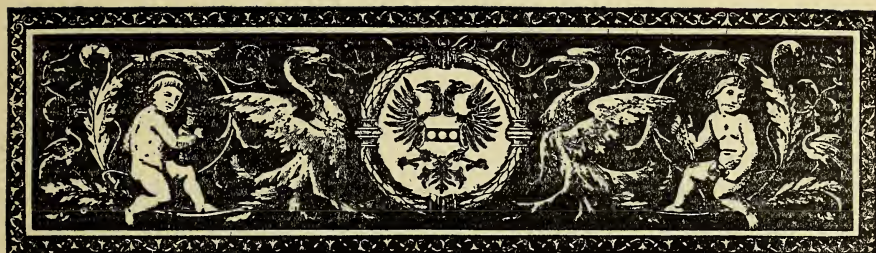
Though the remoteness of colonial history may render it romantic, it must not be forgotten that there are more recent periods which are no less interesting and important.

¹ History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792, Reading, Pa., Daniel Miller, Publisher, 1899.

The true significance of the tree is not to be sought in its planting, but in its flower and fruit. To confine ourselves to the formative period would be like limiting a biography to the childhood of its subject. While, therefore, we begin our task by giving some account of the European history of the Reformed Church, and enter with some minuteness into the particulars of its American planting, we shall not close without giving some reasons why it must be regarded as holding an important place in the history of the religious and social development of Pennsylvania. It will be seen, therefore, that our work is necessarily of a general character. To others must be assigned the task of elaborating themes which will suggest themselves in the course of our relation.

The writer begs leave to return thanks to all friends who have aided him by the contribution of material, and especially to express his appreciation of the work of Mr. Julius F. Sachse, who, with high artistic taste and skill, has prepared and arranged the illustrations for this paper. He is also under special obligations to Prof. W. J. Hinke, who has kindly contributed a valuable bibliography.

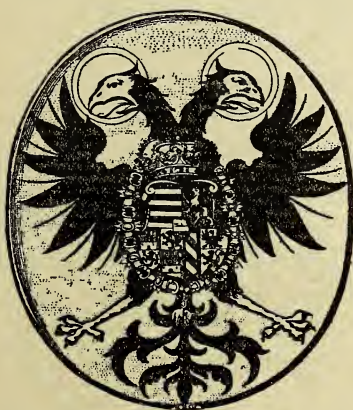




CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN EUROPE.

Origin of the Church—Switzerland—Zwingli—Calvin—Frederick of the Palatinate—Olevianus and Ursinus—Heidelberg Catechism—John à Lasco—Refugees—Pietists—Coligni—William of Orange—The Great Elector—The Church of the Martyrs.



ARMS OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE Reformed Church in the United States (formerly known as the German Reformed Church) derives its descent in an unbroken line from the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It represents what has sometimes been termed the southern type of German Protestantism.

“The German Reformation,” says Max Goebel, “began simultaneously and independently at the opposite extremes of German life and culture—the Slavonic boundary and the foot of the Alps—and thence spread until it met at the Rhine, the center of Germanic life, where after three centuries of

disagreement its constituent elements have in great measure become united.”²

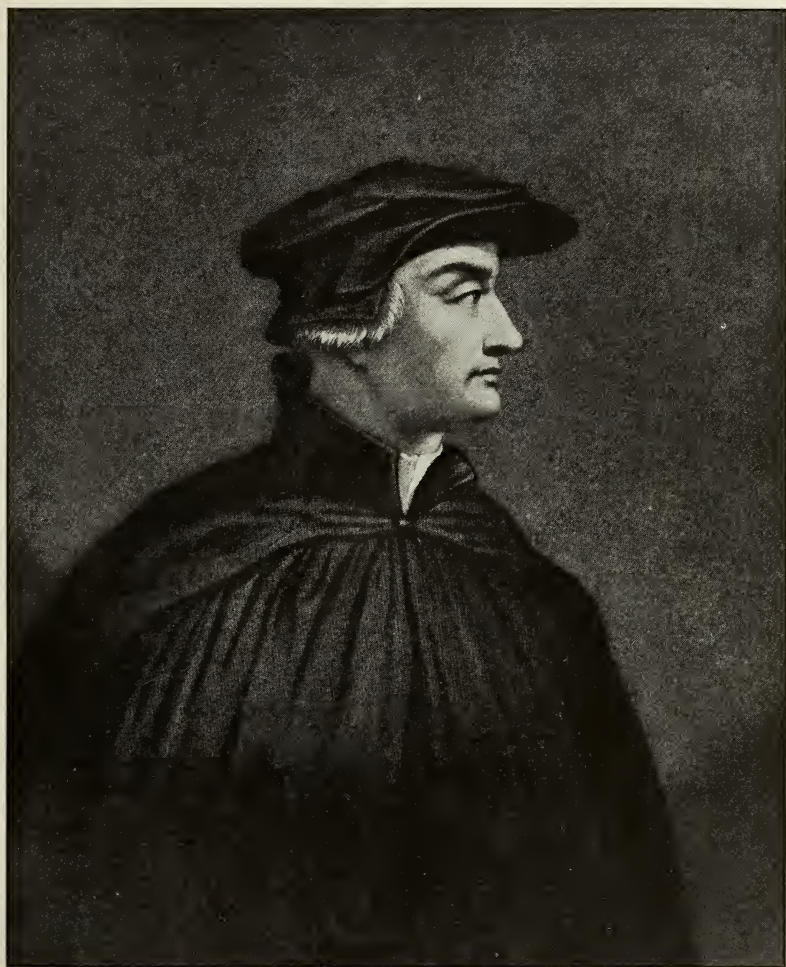
The early history of the Reformed Church has been termed a drama in three acts. In the first of these the scene is laid in Zurich; in the second in Geneva; and in the third in Heidelberg. There is no single hero who impresses his personality on the entire drama, but the continuity of life and action remains unbroken. In the first act the leading character is Ulric Zwingli; in the second, John Calvin; and in the third, Frederick the Pious, Elector of the Palatinate.

The distinctive peculiarities of the Reformed Church were no doubt greatly influenced by its early environment. It was at first exclusively a Swiss church, and almost necessarily reproduced the characteristics of the Swiss people. Switzerland was a republic or rather a republican league—and could expect but little sympathy from the rulers of surrounding nations. When the Church was to be reformed there were no princes at hand—no civil rulers of commanding influence—who could either maintain the existing order or mould it to suit their pleasure. It was perhaps fortunate that in their long struggle for civil liberty the Swiss had learned to assume high responsibilities, and that in the structure which they erected they did not hesitate to give to laymen positions which had elsewhere been reserved for the clergy and the princes. It was thus that the Church of Switzerland became “the free church in the free state.”

The Swiss were a race of simple mountaineers who had little inclination for foreign luxury. Their tastes were not artistic, and it has been said that they were unable to appreciate “the splendor of the mass.” When the fatal mercenary system was adopted, and their sons returned from

² Geschichte des Christlichen Lebens, I., p. 275.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



ULRIC ZWINGLE.

the Italian wars, not only relating stories of the magnificence of Roman worship, but revealing in their flesh infallible indications of the worthlessness of Roman life, the Swiss people came to consider the two elements as inseparably connected; and instead of regarding Rome with reverence, as their fathers had done, they learned to hate it as the source of all evil. Many of them desired a reformation, but it must concern morals no less than faith, and must sweep away everything that reminded them of the wicked city. "Switzerland was revolutionized by a great popular movement."³ Like that of an Alpine glacier its motion was at first imperceptible; but it gradually became more rapid until its progress could no longer be restrained.

ULRIC ZWINGLI (1484-1531) was the most prominent man in the Reformation of German Switzerland, but he must not be regarded, in any exclusive sense, as the founder of the Reformed Church. He was rather *primus inter pares* than absolute director of the movement which he helped to develop. Oecolampadius, Leo Juda, Bullinger, and many local reformers, took a prominent part in the Swiss Reformation, and each in his own way left his impress on the history of the Church.

Zwingli was a vigorous "son of the mountains"—a genuine incarnation of the spirit of his native land. That he was a splendid classical scholar and a powerful popular orator has never been denied. He was honest and truthful, and loved above all things simplicity and order in church and state. Though he termed himself a disciple of Erasmus, it was mainly through the teachings of Thomas Wyttenbach, of Basel, that he was brought to a profounder knowledge of religious truth. A humanist rather than a

³ American Cyclopedica, art. "Reformed Church."

mystic, he seems to have taken little interest in theological controversies until they were forced upon his attention by the conditions of the times.⁴

His earliest writings were political and patriotic, and in these he protested with special vigor against the social evils derived from the union of the fatherland with the corrupt Italian Church. His work was therefore of a twofold character; and those who have given no attention to his relations to the state must fail to appreciate his influence on the development of the church. It was in this twofold relation that he reorganized the Swiss churches and proclaimed certain principles of ecclesiastical government which have since become the common heritage of

Protestantism. He called laymen to office, convened the earliest Protestant synods, and encouraged local self-government. He also insisted on Christian discipline, declaring that the purpose of the church is "to glorify God in the faith and life of His people."

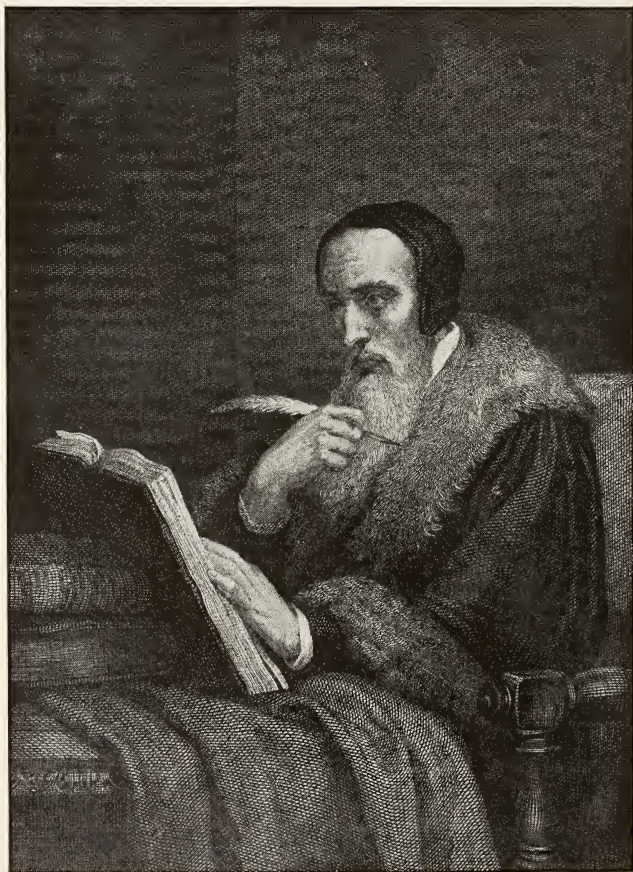
Though Zwingli did not agree with Luther in regard to the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, he always



professed the profoundest reverence for the great Saxon reformer. He said: "In my opinion Luther is a noble champion of the Lord who searches the Scriptures with a degree of earnestness that has not been equaled in a thou-

⁴ "Neither Zwingli nor any of his (Swiss) friends had ever believed in the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation."—Goebel, I., 277.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



JOHN CALVIN.

sand years." The two men differed in temperament, early training, and philosophical standpoint; it is therefore not surprising that, at their brief meeting in Marburg, they did not perfectly agree; but both were honest and could not do otherwise. Oswald Myconius, the friend and earliest biographer of Zwingli, says: "I am convinced that the two men did not fully understand each other. Zwingli with his rationalizing mind could not understand that from Luther's point of view there is a sacramental eating which is not physical nor carnal; Luther did not give credit to Zwingli for believing that spiritual communion is real and true."

Zwingli was cut down in the prime of his manhood, before he had completed the organization of the Swiss churches or elaborated a consistent theological system. He accompanied his people to the battlefield of Cappel, as his official duty required, and was mortally wounded while engaged in giving consolation to a dying soldier. There was something almost prophetic in his dying words: "What does it matter? They may kill the body but they cannot kill the soul."

The period immediately succeeding the death of Zwingli was full of gloom, but the Reformed churches of Switzerland seem never to have lost courage. Less than three months after the death of their leader, on the 9th of January, 1532, they held the "Great Synod of Berne," at which Capito of Strasburg secured the adoption of the celebrated article which declares that "Christ is the substance of all doctrine," and that "God Himself must be held forth as He is in Christ."

JOHN CALVIN (1509-'64) was the leading character in the second act of the Swiss reformation. Farel and others had preceded him in the evangelization of the French can-

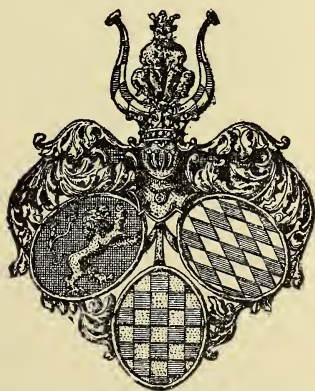
tons of Switzerland, and in France itself there had been a series of earnest reformers, but none of them possessed similar elements of greatness. We may decline to accept Calvin's teachings, but we cannot fail to be impressed by his imposing personality. His influence was not confined to a single nation, and no single denomination can claim him as its founder; but from his seat in Geneva he ruled the thinking of many lands, and became the leading spirit in the organization of many national churches. Less attractive than Zwingli, less enthusiastic than Farel, there can be no doubt that without his organizing genius the work of his predecessors would have remained incomplete. He differed from Zwingli in many respects, but recognized these differences as minor matters; and in 1549 joined with Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli, in a common confession of faith, known as the *Consensus Tigurinus*, by which the German and French elements in the Reformed Church were practically united.⁵ Calvin's view of the eucharist found its way into all the Reformed confessions of faith. It was an elaboration and scientific presentation of the view of Zwingli, but laid more stress on a real presence through the power of the Holy Spirit.

Calvin's view of predestination—which has been generally known as "Calvinism"—was not a subject of disagreement among the earlier reformers. Luther and Zwingli occupied ground as advanced as that of Calvin, and even the Church of Rome did not venture to controvert them in the days of the greatest struggle. All of the reformers were disciples of St. Augustine, and it was but natural that they should follow where he had led the way.

⁵ In the preface to his *brochure* on this subject Calvin says: "If Zwingli and Oecolampadius were still living, they would not change a word in our *Consensus*."—Karl Pestalozzi, p. 391.

Calvin, however, regarded the principle of predestination as of paramount importance, and it is, therefore, most prominent in the confessions of countries like Holland and Scotland, where the influence of Calvin and his immediate disciples was most decided. On this subject, however, the Reformed confessions present no actual disagreement. "The difference is confined to minor details, and to the extent to which the Augustinian and Calvinistic principles are carried out; in other words, the difference is theological, not religious, and logical rather than theological."⁶

FREDERICK THE THIRD, Elector of the Palatinate, may be regarded as the founder of the Reformed Church of Germany, though its beginnings actually belong to an earlier period. It will be remembered that at the Diet of Augsburg in 1531, four Reformed cities of southern Germany presented a separate confession, which the Emperor refused to recognize. We need hardly refer to the peculiar position of Philip of Hesse and to the attempt of Lambert of Avignon to organize the churches of Hesse after the Swiss model. Gradually the Reformed Church made its way, and in 1540 Melancthon on his own responsibility introduced certain changes into the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession for the purpose of rendering it acceptable to the Reformed people. This act was violently denounced and was one of the chief occasions for the re-



ARMS OF FREDERICK III.

⁶ Schaff's "Harmony of Reformed Confession," p. 15.

newal of the sacramental controversy. The conflict became most violent after the death of Melancthon, and can hardly be said to have subsided before the middle of the seventeenth century. During this period there was an extensive secession from the Lutheran to the Reformed Church and in this movement the Palatinate led the way. In 1559 the Elector Frederick III. formally accepted the Reformed confessions, though he always insisted that he had not renounced his allegiance to the Confession of Augsburg. Other princes followed his example, and so it happened that the Reformed Church became the leading ecclesiastical organization along the whole course of the Rhine, from its source to the ocean.⁷

After the Elector Frederick had entered the Reformed Church he determined to publish a confession of faith that would serve as a declaration of the doctrine which he had accepted. The work of composition he committed to two young men who thus became the joint authors of the Heidelberg Catechism. Caspar Olevianus (1535-1587) was a disciple of Calvin, and Zacharias Ursinus (1534-1583) had been recognized by Melancthon as his most promising pupil. The catechism which they prepared was

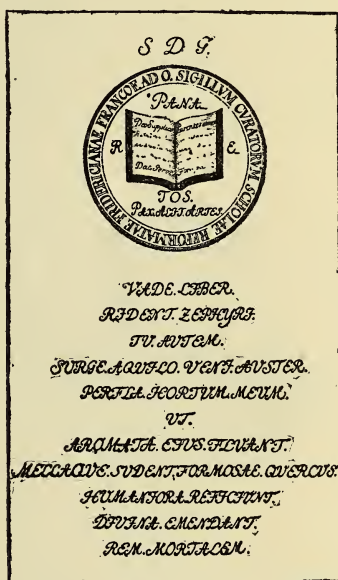
⁷ The following are some of the German cities and provinces which connected themselves with the Reformed Church after the electoral Palatinate had led the way: Wied (1575), Zweitbrücken (1576), Nassau (1578), Bremen (1581), Witgenstein (1586), Anhalt (1597), Hanau (1596), Baden-Durlach (1599), Lippe (1600), Hesse-Cassel (1604). The elector of Brandenburg, from whom the present imperial family of Germany is descended, did not accept the Reformed faith until 1623. See Cuno's "*Gedächtnissbuch reformierter Fürsten*."

In many of these places a part of the population remained Lutheran; and there were also many Catholics; but there were isolated Reformed churches in parts of Germany besides those here enumerated. The Reformed element was greatly strengthened by the accession of French and Dutch refugees who came in great numbers. Dr. Good claims that "before the Thirty Years' War perhaps one-fourth of (Protestant?) Germany was Reformed."—"Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany," p. 469.

published in 1563, and became the most generally accepted of the Reformed symbols. "The Heidelberg Catechism," says Goebel, "may be regarded as the flower and fruit of the entire German and Swiss Reformation; it has Lutheran sincerity, Melancthonian clearness, Zwinglian simplicity and Calvinistic fire, all harmoniously blended; and it has, therefore, become and remained the common confession of the German Reformed Church from the Palatinate to the Netherlands, including Brandenburg and Prussia. Whoever is not familiar with the Heidelberg Catechism does not know the German Reformed Church, as it was and still remains; whoever is acquainted with all its particulars, its excellencies and imperfections, is alone able to appreciate the Christian

spirit and Christian life of our Reformed Church in all its strength and weakness." The defense of the Heidelberg Catechism by the Elector Frederick at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1564, is justly regarded as one of the most heroic scenes in the later history of the Reformation.

To write an account of the varied fortunes of the Reformed Church in Germany is beyond our present purpose. It may, however, be mentioned that in early days the Church was greatly strengthened by the admission of minor



EARLY BOOK-PLATE.

bodies, some of which dated their origin from a period long antecedent to the Reformation, as well as by the reception of thousands of refugees from France, Holland, and even from England. As early as 1532 the Waldenses—an ancient body of mediæval origin—held a synod at Angrogna, at which they formally accepted the doctrines of the Reformed Church, and thus proposed to consummate the union of the two organizations; but this action was not approved by an absent minority who in France and Italy



OLEVIANUS.



URSINUS.

maintained their ancient order. In the Palatinate they had been numerous but were absorbed by the Reformed Church during the Reformation.”⁸

The Hussites of Poland were also in 1627 “grafted upon the Reformed Church, and in the next decade grew to be one with it.”⁹

The gathering of isolated churches was begun by John à Lasco (1499–1560), who is called “the Reformer of Poland,” though his influence in the organization of the

⁸ Goebel, Vol. I., p. 35, note.

⁹ De Schweinitz's “Moravian Manual”; also “History of the Unitas Fratrum,” p. 633.

churches extended from England to Bohemia. He was a Polish nobleman and had been appointed a bishop in the



Joannes à Lasco
mann

Roman Church, but renounced all earthly preferment and became a poor exile for the cause of what he conceived to be the truth. His life reads like a romance of chivalry,

and certainly deserves more attention than it has generally received.¹⁰ It was to him that the organization of the earliest of the so-called *Fremdengemeinden* was mainly due. Among these were the Dutch and French Reformed Churches in Frankfort-on-the-Main.¹¹ A few years later, in 1562, the Elector Frederick III. granted authority for the establishment of two churches of refugees—Dutch and French—in the town of Frankenthal, which soon became a great center for commerce and manufacture.¹²

This town was, however, burned by the French in 1689, and since that event it has never attained to its former prosperity. Similar congregations were founded in many places along the Rhine and even in Switzerland. The large Reformed Synods of Juliers, Cleves and Marck were chiefly founded by fugitives from Holland during the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, though they afterwards became thoroughly German. It was in this region that the Reformed ideals of independent church-government and the "sanctified congregation" were most completely developed.¹³

At a later date, especially after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, large numbers of Huguenots settled in Brandenburg in response to the invitation of Frederick William,

¹⁰ The authorities are mostly German and Polish and leave much to be desired. The Reformer wrote his name à Lasco, though the family name was Łasky. One of his brothers appears to have been surnamed "Jaroslav." It is evident that in those days surnames were far from settled.—"Johannes à Lasco," von Petrus Bartels, Elberfeld, 1860, p. 3.

¹¹ The English congregation in the same city, of which the Scotch Reformer, John Knox, was for some time the pastor, returned to England in 1558.—Goebel, I., p. 346.

¹² "Pfälzisches Memorabile," XIV., p. 5.

¹³ Rauschenbusch, a Lutheran writer, says: "The Reformed prospered in the provinces of the Lower Rhine because they had a general organization and practiced the principles of self-government, while the Lutherans had no such organization and depended on princes who utterly neglected them."

“the Great Elector.” The culture and skill of the French exiles became a blessing to the land in which they made their home.¹⁴

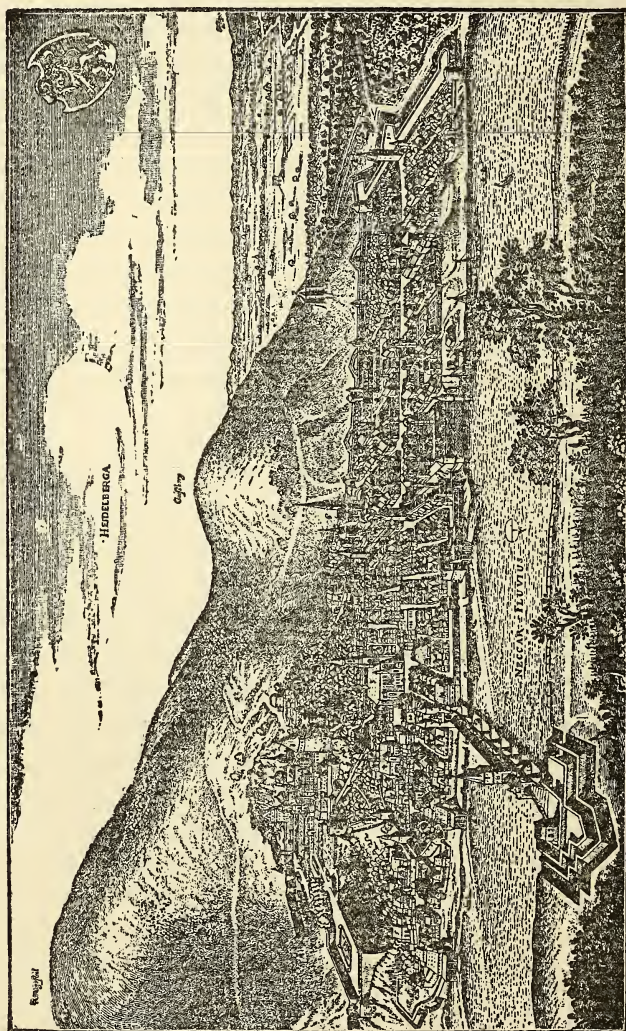
We have mentioned these particulars because they serve to show that the Reformed Church is derived from many sources, though in all its variations it manifests a common life. Sometimes it has been called “a threefold cord,” deriving one of its strands from Zurich, another from Geneva, and the third from Heidelberg. Other writers have fancied they discerned a certain analogy between the Church and the river Rhine, on whose banks so many of its members formerly dwelt. “Springing from obscure sources in Switzerland, it derives its tributaries from France and Germany, while it flows onward to refresh the plains of Holland.”

The golden days of the Reformed Church of Germany were of brief duration. In the Palatinate, immediately after the death of Frederick III., there was a reaction during which it lost some of the ground which it had gained. Then came “the wilderness of wars,” which occupied the greater part of the seventeenth century and the earlier years of the eighteenth. During these struggles the Reformed Church was a great sufferer, because its chief seats were in the Rhine country where the conflict raged most fiercely. Indeed, the Church was so greatly prostrated that it is rather surprising that, by the terms of the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, it was recognized as one of the established religions of Germany.

This recognition was mainly due to the personal influence of its most distinguished defenders, the Great Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave,

¹⁴ See Zahm's “Einfluss der Reformirten Kirche auf Preussen's Grösse,” 1871.

Amelia Elizabeth, of Hesse.¹⁵ It did not, however, prevent the Jesuits from attempting to regain the Palatinate



HEIDELBERG BEFORE ITS DEVASTATION BY THE FRENCH. (MERIAN 1645.)

¹⁵ Cuno's "Gedächtnissbuch," p. 49.

for the Church of Rome. They were supported by the imperial government, and in regions where the people were too poor to maintain Protestant worship they often succeeded in gaining possession of the ancient churches. In 1685 the last Elector of the Reformed house of Simmern died, and the government of the Palatinate fell into the hands of the Roman Catholic house of Neuburg. This was a great blow to the Reformed Church, which still included the great majority of the people of the Palatinate. That the Protestants were oppressed was afterwards boldly denied by the new Elector, but the reverse might easily be proved.¹⁶

The presence of a common danger brought the churches of the Reformation in the Palatinate more closely together. By an electoral decree the Reformed and Lutherans were in many places required to worship in the same building, and they thus learned to know each other better. Many peculiarities of ceremonial gradually disappeared, and members of both churches conceived the idea that the differences which separated them were not insurmountable. "It was in the Palatinate," says Goebel, "that the way was opened for the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, which was instituted by Prussia in 1817, and has since extended over a great part of Germany." We might add that the *Simultankirchen* of the Palatinate were no doubt the prototypes of the Union churches with which we in America are so familiar.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the Reformed Church, no less than the Lutheran, was greatly influenced by the religious movement known as Pietism.

¹⁶ The King of Prussia, the States-General of Holland, and the King of England (as Elector of Hanover) formally protested against the oppression of Protestants by the Elector of the Palatinate, and the King of Prussia even went so far as to institute reprisals.—Goebel II., 514.

To describe this movement is beyond our purpose, and it may be enough to say that, so far as the Reformed Church is concerned, it took its rise in the great revival instituted by Jean de Labadie (1610-74). The influence of Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705), often called "the father of Pietism," was also greatly felt in the Reformed Churches, though he was himself a Lutheran. In the Reformed Church the adherents of the Pietistic movement were generally known as "die Feinen." Most of them remained attached to the Church, though some ran into various forms of mysticism, or hovered over the line which separated faith from fanaticism. It has been usual to call all these people Pietists, though it would be convenient to limit the term to those who remained attached to the churches (Lutheran and Reformed), while the sectarians might better be known as Mystics.

That Pietism in its best form became a source of life to the Reformed Church can hardly be doubted. Not to speak its earliest and most pronounced representatives—such as Tersteegen, Untereyck, and Lodenstein—great theologians like Coccejus, hymnologists like Joachim Neander, and preachers like Lampe, Menken, and the Krummachers were all of the pietistic type.

The Reformed Church of Germany has been to a great extent absorbed by the Evangelical or United Church, though the number that still holds to the ancient standards is not inconsiderable. There is also a "Reformirter Bund" which claims to lay special stress on principles which are supposed to be peculiarly Reformed. In Switzerland and Holland the church is still "by law established." Perhaps the most thoroughly organized Reformed Church of the continent is that of Hungary, which numbers about two millions. Altogether it is estimated that

the Reformed Church throughout the world—not including the Presbyterians—has a membership of about ten millions.¹⁷

The Reformed Church has often been called “the church of the martyrs.” According to Dr. Schaff, its losses by martyrdom in fifty years were greater than those of the primitive church in the first three centuries. Of course, it had its moments of triumph, and the achievements of Coligni, William of Orange, and the Great Elector will never be forgotten; but during the greater part of its history it was an *ecclesia pressa*, and it was not in vain that it was called “the church under the cross.” On ancient seals and escutcheons appear the chosen emblems of the Church; such as the burning bush, the lily among the thorns, the ship tossed by the winds, and the anchor turned heavenward. All these devices tell the same story—the story of a church that has suffered persecutions innumerable, but has in all its dangers been marvelously preserved.



EX-LIBRIS OF THE CHURCH OF THE
REFUGEES, BERLIN.

¹⁷ For a full account of the present status of the Reformed Church see Good's "Origin of the Reformed Church of Germany," p. 459. Also the author's "Historic Manual of the Reformed Church."



CHAPTER II.

AMERICAN PIONEERS.

French and Hollanders—Peter Minuit—Dutch Ministers—Swiss Linguists.



ARMS OF THE HOLY ROMAN
EMPIRE.

THE honor of preparing the way for the establishment of a Reformed Church in America belongs to the French and Hollanders. Calvin himself favored the expedition under Villegagnon which in 1556 attempted to found a Protestant settlement on the coast of Brazil;¹⁸ and every student of American history is familiar with the mournful story of Jean Ribault's Huguenot colony in South

Carolina, which, in 1565, was exterminated by the Spaniards under Menendez. The Hollanders, we know,

¹⁸ Stähelin's "Johannes Calvin," (II, p.) 234.

founded New Amsterdam in 1614. Though they had no settled ministry until 1628, when the Rev. Jonas Michaelius arrived from the West Indies, there were probably "Ouderlings" and "Krankenbezoekers" among them from the beginning;¹⁹ so that it has been plausibly asserted that the Heidelberg Catechism was taught in America before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

That there were Germans among the early Dutch settlers has been fully recognized,²⁰ and it has even been estimated that one-third of the Reformed Dutch Church in America, as originally constituted, was of German origin. These Germans, however, soon acquired the language of the majority, and made no attempt to organize separate churches. This involved no sacrifice, for it has been stated that "even to this day the peasants of Friesland and Westphalia regard Holland as more nearly related to them than high-Germany."²¹

Peter Minuit deserves the foremost place among these German pioneers. He was the first governor of New Amsterdam, and subsequently conducted the Swedish Lutheran colony which, in 1638, settled on the western shore of Delaware Bay. That he was a native of the German city of Wesel, and that in early life he was a deacon in one of the Reformed churches of his native city, are facts which are sufficiently attested.²² He seems to

¹⁹ Sebastian Jansen Kral and Jan Huyck came to America in 1626 to serve as Krankenbezoekers. Tablets to their memory have been erected in the Middle Collegiate Church, New York.

²⁰ Corwin's "Manual of the Reformed Church in America," p. 1.

²¹ Löher's "Geschichte der Deutschen in Amerika," p. 28.

²² On the ground of his peculiar name—which has been written in many ways—it is supposed that he was of Walloon descent and that he was connected with the French Reformed Church at Wesel. The early records of that church are unfortunately lost, but the fact of his official position is confirmed by contemporary evidence. For the general subject see Acrelius,

have been the first in North America to employ the policy of dealing fairly with the Indians which was accepted and developed by William Penn.²³

That the Germans constituted an important element in the Reformed Dutch Church is further indicated by the number of its early ministers who were of German descent. Some of these were almost cosmopolitan, for they had travelled about until they had learned to preach in several languages. The Rev. Samuel Drisius, we are told, was born in London of German parents, educated in Germany, and could preach fluently in German, Dutch, English and French. From 1652-'73 he was a Dutch pastor in New Amsterdam, but also preached English, and once a month went to Staten Island to serve the Huguenots and Vaudois who were settled there.²⁴

The number of ministers who could preach German and Dutch, but did not include French among their accomplishments, was of course much greater. Some German ministers even became so thoroughly Dutch that they disguised their nationality by a change of name. Bernardus Freeman, who came to America in 1700, and became eminent for his labors among the Indians, was a native of Westphalia, and was in all probability originally named Freyman. Johannes Casparus Fryenmoet, an eminent minister at a somewhat later period, was a native of Switzerland and was properly called Freyenmuth.

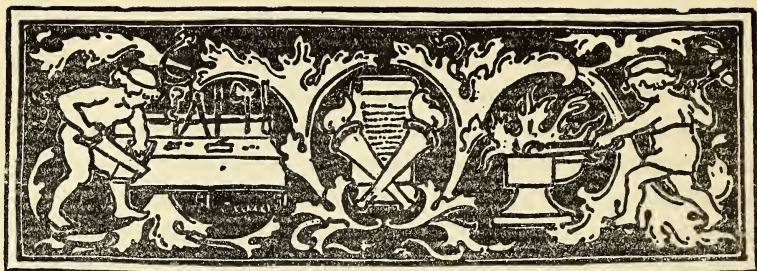
"History of New Sweden," Kapp's "History of Immigration," Broadhead's "History of New York," Dubbs' "Historic Manual," Cort's "Minuit Memorial," Good's "Reformed Church in the United States." There are valuable MSS. in Stockholm, which were in part copied by the late Joseph Mickly, and the subject has been at various times discussed in the *Historical Magazine* and the *Penna. Magazine of History*.

²³ On his voyage homeward from America he visited the West Indian island of St. Christopher to obtain a cargo, and there lost his life in a hurricane.

²⁴ Corwin's "Manual," 3d ed., p. 246.

These examples may serve to illustrate a state of affairs which existed not only in New York but throughout the southern colonies. In the latter region very many of the early ministers were Swiss, who are supposed to be constitutionally great linguists. We know that many pastors preached German and French; and where the nationalities were mixed, as they were in South Carolina and Georgia, this was an unavoidable necessity. In some places the people spoke a *patois* which became more corrupt as their knowledge of English increased. Dr. Zubly was not the only Reformed minister in the far south who officiated regularly in German, English and French.

It is evident that such conditions would render it difficult to write a minute history of this early period, even if the materials were accessible. It is true that we know very little about the early history of the church in the far south; but the feeble gleams of light which are occasionally afforded us reveal a state of affairs which is, to say the least, confusing. It is not unusual to find a German-Swiss minister coming to America under the auspices of the Church of England, serving for some time in a French field, and then—possibly after a period of disappearance—emerging once more into history as a member of a Presbyterian synod. The fact is that in those days the denominational spirit had not been developed, and that Reformed ministers, coming from the Fatherland, frequently identified themselves with either of the national branches of their church as location or other conditions seemed to require.



CHAPTER III.

THE IMMIGRANTS.

Palatines—The Swiss—Michel and Graffenried—John Peter Purry—The Rev. Joseph Bugnion—Germans in Pennsylvania—The Huguenots.



ARMS OF THE PALATINATE.

IT may perhaps be taken for granted that in every early German settlement in America there were some members of the Reformed Church. That they represented different nationalities and varied greatly in ecclesiastical usages has already been intimated. To attempt a de-

scription of their peculiar characteristics is, therefore, almost a hopeless task. The English called all the Germans "Palatines," because many came from the Lower Palatinate, though it may perhaps be doubted whether the majority of the early settlers were actually natives of that province. Indeed, it does not appear that the Germans ever used the word "Palatine" among themselves except in its spe-

cial application. As a general term it came to convey a trace of contempt, and it was not pleasant to be called "Pfälzer," unless you were actually a native of the *Pfalz*.²⁵

In enumerating the constituent elements of the Reformed Church in the United States, it may be interesting—without attempting to settle questions concerning priority or relative importance—to refer at some length to several of the nationalities which the term "Palatine" was made to include.

I. THE SWISS.—That Switzerland contributed its full quota to the settlement of America is a fact which historians are just beginning to recognize. That the Swiss failed to leave deeper traces on the history of the country is perhaps mainly due to their differences in language and customs. Those who came from the French cantons were naturally supposed to be Frenchmen, while those who spoke German were soon lost in the German multitude.

The main reasons for the Swiss migrations of the eighteenth century appear to be sufficiently plain. It is true that Antistes Solomon Hess, in his writings on the subject, has sought to minimize the reasons, declaring the migratory movement to have been the result of an inexplicable "craze"; but it seems evident that Switzerland was so greatly overcrowded that emigration had become a necessity. For ages that little country had been the refuge

²⁵ For the English to use the term "Palatines" was natural enough. The marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector of the Palatinate had familiarized them with the use of the word, and with intense interest they had followed the career of the unfortunate "Winter Queen." The subsequent War of the Palatinate—and especially the terrible invasion of 1689—had revived this interest; and when the Great Migration occurred, about 1709, it was but natural to call all the German emigrants "Palatines." In the term itself there was nothing disrespectful, but it is never pleasant to ignore your proper nationality. Germans highly appreciate the historic splendor of Holland, but no German likes to be called a Dutchman.

of religious and political fugitives, who had been kindly received, though they added considerably to the population. Especially after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes many Huguenots had come to Switzerland, and by



their artistic manufactures had deprived the less skillful natives of their means of support. In some cantons, it is true, religious separatists were harshly treated, and this no doubt led to their emigration; but this cannot have affected the Reformed people who belonged to the established church. Swiss writers acknowledge that the people had become restless and dissatisfied, and it is evident that

it had become necessary to open a channel to relieve the country of its surplus population.

As early as 1663 Peter Fabian, of Berne, had visited the Carolinas, in America, but it does not appear that he founded a settlement. He was, however, the author of the official report of the English expedition, which he accompanied.²⁶ In the early history of the Carolinas the names of Franz Ludwig Michel and Christopher Graffenried frequently appear. Michel is said to have visited America twice, in 1701 and 1703; but Graffenried, who became Michel's partner and associate, was the real founder of the Swiss Colony in North Carolina. He led the company which in 1710 founded New Berne; and under Locke's Constitution he bore the title of Landgrave of Carolina.

²⁶ "Der Deutsche Pionier," Vol. 10, p. 188.

In their enterprise Michel and Graffenried were supported by a joint stock company known as George Ritter and Company. In the articles of agreement made at the establishment of this company, in 1708, it was expressly stipulated that "perfect religious freedom should be granted to the colonists whom they were about to send to America, and that a preacher of their own land should preach to them in their own tongue."²⁷

The history of the Swiss settlement in North Carolina is too well known to be related here. Students of American history remember the story of the disastrous war with the Tuscarora Indians, and the consequent destruction of New Berne, Sept. 22, 1711. After much suffering Graffenried made his way to Virginia where he was kindly received by Governor Spotswood. That he was instrumental in directing the mind of the Governor to the desirability of encouraging German immigration is very probable; but the assumption that he brought the relics of his colony to Virginia is at least not proven. He returned to Berne in the year 1713, disheartened and impoverished. The "Life of Graffenried," which has recently been published in his native country, makes it appear that, though unfortunate, he was really a good man. His colony was scattered²⁸ but successive companies of Swiss immigrants arrived in the Carolinas and Georgia during succeeding years. In 1732 John Peter Purry (or Pury) founded Purrysburg²⁹ in South Carolina, which became a large village and is described as

²⁷ Gen. John E. Roller's "Historical Address," 1897.

²⁸ In a letter to the author the pastor of a Presbyterian Church in New Berne said, many years ago, that he could discover no trace of the early Swiss settlement, except the name of the town.

²⁹ In an early document in the possession of the writer the name is written "Purysbourg."

well built and prosperous.³⁰ The colonists brought with them as their pastor the Rev. Joseph Bugnion, who during his sojourn in England received Episcopal ordination.³¹ He served a Reformed Church in Purrysburg until 1735, when



he removed to St. James, on the Santee. He was succeeded by Bartholomew Zouberbuhler,³² John Joachim Zubly, and others to whom we shall refer hereafter. Purrysburg continued to exist as late as the period of the American Revolution; and Mills informs us that it was the first headquarters of the American army under Gen. Lincoln, and was afterwards in the possession of the Brit-

ish under Prevost; but soon after that time the place was deserted, and now it is only "a name in history."

About 1730 or a little earlier, the stream of Swiss emigration began to change its direction. Hitherto most of the emigrants had sought a home in the Carolinas; now they turned toward Pennsylvania. Bernheim intimates that letters had been written home, complaining of the southern climate, and the statement is not improbable. Other causes have been assigned for this change of direction, but the matter is not important. It may, however, be observed that the migration to Pennsylvania was from the canton of Zurich, and to some extent from St. Gall and

³⁰ Bernheim's "German Settlements in the Carolinas," p. 96.

³¹ Mann's "Life and Times of H. M. Muhlenberg," p. 80.

³² So he wrote his name in Zubly's album, April 12, 1746.

other German cantons. Isolated Swiss had indeed settled here at an earlier date—and the traders of Geneva had journeyed far into the wilderness—but the actual Swiss settlement in Pennsylvania dates from the Zurich migration.

The Swiss immigrants came in large numbers, at first apparently without organization or recognized leaders. Many German-speaking people were already in the land; and there were several organized Reformed congregations, but in the region between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers there were still many unoccupied districts which were well suited for agriculture. Here they settled in little companies which became the *nuclei* of Reformed congregations. In this region most of the early churches were exclusively Reformed; but there was no sectarian prejudice, and at a later date many of them were replaced by Union churches.³³

There can be no doubt that the comparative strength of the Reformed churches in this particular region was mainly due to their Swiss element. The Great Swamp congregation, in the southern angle of Lehigh County, originally consisted almost exclusively of "Zurichers"; and from there northward, at least as far as "Shugeri," at the base of the Blue Mountains, a careful examination of early records indicates that similar conditions prevailed.

We have spoken at some length of the Swiss because we believe they have not received the credit which they deserve. Though simple and unpretentious they were

³³ The late Dr. B. M. Schmucker says in an article in the *Lutheran Church Review* for July, 1887: "Throughout the district between the Schuylkill and Delaware, the Reformed congregations were formed somewhat earlier than the Lutheran congregations in their vicinity."

earnest and energetic, and the influence which they exerted on the development of the Reformed Church can hardly be too highly esteemed.

2. THE GERMANS.—That the majority of the founders of the Reformed Church in the United States were natives of the Rhine country is sufficiently plain. This fact indicates the reason why the Reformed immigrants were far more numerous than their relative strength in Germany might have led us to expect. In the Palatinate they were “by law established” and in Electoral Hesse, Nassau and certain other provinces, they were almost equally strong. That some of our earliest churches were largely composed of natives of Rhenish Prussia is well known, and from the fact that many of the early congregational constitutions have north-German peculiarities we conclude that this element was more important than has been generally supposed.

To attempt to determine the numbers of this Reformed immigration would probably prove a hopeless task. So far as the entire American continent is concerned it has, we believe, never been attempted; and the estimates of the early Reformed population of Pennsylvania which have come down to us are hardly more than guesses. In a report offered to the Synod of South Holland, convened in Breda, in 1730, it was stated that “the Reformed holding to the old confession constituted more than one-half of the whole number (of Germans), being about fifteen thousand.”³⁴

In Schlatter's days it was common to estimate the Reformed population of Pennsylvania at 30,000. If this is understood to be an estimate of the whole number of

³⁴ Reiff ventured to assert that there were 70,000, but this was manifestly a wild assertion. On the other hand Rieger and Diemer (1733) put the whole number of Germans, which included the Lutherans and sects at 15,000, and a letter from Pennsylvania, in 1731, says there were only 3,000.—Good's “History,” p. 140.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



FREDERICK THE PIOUS.

people of Reformed ancestry, scattered here and there throughout the province, it may not be very far out of the way; but it is plain that nothing like so large a number was ever gathered into congregations. The great majority were lost in the general population of the country, and their descendants soon forgot "the rock from which they were hewn." It must also be remembered that, though the Reformed element may have been in the majority so long as the migration was practically confined to Switzerland and the Rhine country, the comparative number became less as the migratory movement extended to other parts of Germany, and that before many years had passed the Lutherans had become the larger body.

As already indicated it is not our purpose to relate the story of "the great migration." We have briefly attempted this task on previous occasions,³⁵ and the subject has been extensively treated in former volumes of the publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society.³⁶ It may, however, not be out of place to remind the reader that this migration was the natural result of the prevailing misery of the fatherland. For a century Germany had been the battleground of Europe,³⁷ and there were generations which never knew the blessings of peace. History has most to say about the Thirty Years' War (1619-'48), but the climax of horrors was reached during the French invasion of the Palatinate (1688-'89), which for pure barbarity was unexampled in the annals of nations. "Then," says Duruy,

³⁵ "Historic Manual," pp. 143-152; "American Church History Series," Vol. 8, p. 236; "Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania," p. 9.

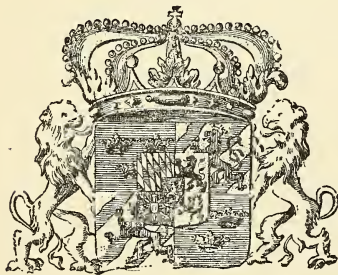
³⁶ See especially "The German Exodus to England in 1709," by Frank Ried Diffenderffer, 1897.

³⁷ The struggle began in 1609 with the war for the possession of the Rhine Duchies and was not actually concluded until the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, May 4, 1713. The brief periods of peace brought no tranquility.

a French writer, "one hundred thousand inhabitants, driven from their country by the flames, entreated Germany for revenge"; but the German princes of this period had no conception of the responsibilities of their position, and generally did not even make an effort to relieve the sufferers. "God forgive them," said Prince Eugene, "for they know not what they do; much less do they know what they want; and least of all, what they are."

The migration which began at that dreadful time was continued and extended in succeeding years. There were several minor French invasions, and then, after a brief in-

terval, came the War of the Spanish Succession, during which western Germany was once more desolated by contending armies. The war was practically ended, so far as Germany was concerned, by the magnificent victory of Marlborough and Prince Eugene at Blenheim, or Hochstadt, but the result



ARMS OF HOLLAND.

brought no promise of better days. In times of war the soldiers had at least been prodigal with their booty, and in this way some fragments had returned to their original owners; but now even this uncertain means of subsistence was taken away, though their merciless rulers did not hesitate to send out companies of soldiers to distrain the goods of a people who were on the verge of starvation.³⁸ For several years the harvest failed, and at last, to crown this chapter of horrors, came the terrible winter of 1709 which was accompanied by a famine that

³⁸ "Der Deutsche Pionier," XIV., 271.

spread over Germany and France.³⁹ "Then," says Löher, "the people looked into each other's faces and said: 'Let us go to America and if we perish, we perish!'"

To relate the story of the emigration would demand a volume. We may read elsewhere how the multitude of "Palatines" hastened down the Rhine to Holland; how they were transported to England; and how, after difficulties which taxed to the utmost the resources of the British government, most of them were finally conveyed to the American colonies. Though we have no room to dwell on themes like these, it may be well to recall the fact that compared with the sufferings of the early Palatines the trials of the Pilgrims of New England were very gentle experiences.

It must not be forgotten that the German migration was a movement that extended through the greater part of the eighteenth century. Though in its later developments it lacked the dramatic elements of earlier days, it is not for that reason destitute of interest. The later immigrants were not fugitives from French invasion, nor were they pensioners on the charity of Great Britain. Many of them, it is true, were poor when they left the fatherland, and others were robbed on the way. There were wicked men who enticed the ignorant and confiding to sail to America though they were utterly destitute of means—men who even then were known as "sellers of souls" (*Seelenverkäufer*)—whose infamous work naturally resulted in privation and suffering. There were immigrants whose passage was paid by years of labor; but as a rule Redemptioners were not oppressed, and some of them in later years became men of wealth and influence. In a

³⁹ Duruy says: "The lackeys of the king begged for bread at the gates of Versailles."

general way it may be said that the early German immigrants were, in culture and social condition, fully the peers of the settlers of other nationalities. Not a few brought with them the means of purchasing land which friends or relatives had selected for them before they crossed the ocean. Nearly all could read and write; and that they were fond of reading is sufficiently indicated by the great number of German books which were published in Pennsylvania. The "church-people" had a traditional respect for higher education, and though they may have been themselves uneducated, they were never quite satisfied unless they had a pastor whom they believed to be a learned man.

That the Reformed people through all their trials tenaciously held to their ancient faith is in many respects marvellous. They were not fond of controversy; they never dreamed of increasing their numbers by theological propaganda; but were careful to preserve their ancient traditions. They might differ among themselves with regard to questions which now seem to have been of little importance; but they insisted that certain matters of ritual must under all conditions be strictly observed.⁴⁰ Though the laity could

⁴⁰ The early Reformed Churches in America most generally used the Palatinate Liturgy, though other European orders of service were sometimes employed, and in the absence of a liturgy the worship was often entirely free. At first the congregations generally, though not exclusively, sang the Psalms according to the version of Ambrosius Lobwasser; but after the Marburg Hymn-book had been reprinted by Christopher Saur it seems to have been generally introduced. "If a Pennsylvania farmer had at this time been asked to point out the difference between the Reformed and Lutheran churches he would probably have said: 'In the Lord's Prayer the Reformed say "*Unser Vater*" and the Lutherans say "*Vater Unser*"; and further on in the same prayer the Lutherans say "*Erlöse uns von dem Uebel*" and the Reformed "*Erlöse uns von dem Bösen*.'" He might also have referred to the fact that the Lutherans generally use unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper, and if particularly well instructed, he might have mentioned the variation in the division of the Ten Commandments which is found in the Catechisms of the two churches."—"Historic Manual," p. 264.

not be expected to be generally familiar with European confessions of faith the Heidelberg Catechism was universally recognized and constituted a bond of union which sufficed for their simple religious necessities. On the title-page of their catechisms appeared a representation of a man holding a measuring-rule, extending from a cloud and surrounded by a scroll with the inscription: "*Nach dieser Regel suchet in der Schrift*"—"According to this rule search the Scriptures"—and there can be no doubt that the exhortation was accepted in the most literal manner.

Though many of the early German settlers were very devout, there were few who appreciated the necessity of closer denominational unity than had existed in the fatherland. Unlike the dissenting churches of England, they had never been trained to self-support; and now that they were toiling hard to found new homes in a strange land they seem to have imagined that the government ought somehow to provide for the preaching of the Gospel. Years passed before they learned the lessons of liberality and self-sacrifice which are essential to the successful establishment of the Church.

Religiously and socially the Reformed pioneers are hardly to be distinguished from the great body of Germans of their times. It has been said that in conduct they were unusually strict, and that they laid more stress on moral discipline than has been done by their descendants; but all attempts to establish such distinctions are unsatisfactory. If they had lost the joyous spirit which is supposed to be characteristic of the Palatinate, we must remember the terrible trials through which they had passed. If the English regarded them as ignorant and stolid, the impression was mainly due to that insularity which fails to recognize intelligence unless it is expressed in accustomed forms

of speech. As a rule they were quiet and unpretentious, thoroughly honest and very hospitable. Their ready confidence in the assertions of strangers often made them the prey of worthless pretenders. Some of them had been influenced by Pietism, which generally assumed the form of quiet reflection. They were great readers of devotional books; but it was not easy to handle them in great masses, nor to induce them to work together for the accomplishment of a general purpose. Though they treated their pastors with profound respect they rarely suffered them to become their secular leaders. Excellent people as they were in many ways,⁴¹ they were hard to lead and harder to drive.

In considering the formative influences in the Reformed Church of this country there is another national element which must not be overlooked. Though less significant than either of the others it exerted a more important influence than has been generally supposed, and in the study of the history of the Church it cannot be entirely ignored.

3. THE FRENCH.—The Protestants of France, in consequence of the persecutions which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes were scattered through many countries. Many of them were intelligent and enterprising men, and both England and Prussia owe much of their prosperity to the energy and skill of the exiled Huguenots.

That many of these people found their way to America we have already intimated. In the South, and especially in South Carolina, they formed compact settlements, which, however, were greatly strengthened by the arrival of

⁴¹ "In 1727 a committee of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania reported: 'The Germans have purchased and honestly paid for their lands, and have paid their taxes and assessments regularly; they are a very sober and honest people, both in their religious and civil duties.'"—Rupp's MS. "Fire-side History of Pennsylvania."

large numbers of French Swiss. In the province of New York they were numerous, and the French Reformed Church of the City of New York was founded by Pierre Dailly in 1683. They built the town of New Rochelle, and a Reformed church was founded there by Bonrepos in 1688. Leaving these settlements out of consideration, it may be interesting to make inquiries concerning the extent of the Huguenot element in the province of Pennsylvania.

That such questions are difficult is evident at a glance. There are, of course, many families in Pennsylvania which bear names that are undoubtedly of French origin, and it might naturally be supposed that these must be descended from Huguenot emigrants. This, however, does not necessarily follow. From the earliest times there were migrations from France to Germany, and in the reverse direction, and these were not in every case influenced by religious motives. Traders passed freely from one country to the other, and journeymen mechanics (*Handwerksbursche*) could not be restrained from settling in foreign lands. The German author, August La Fontaine, was once asked whether he belonged to the family of the celebrated French fabulist, Jean de la Fontaine. He said in reply: "The La Fontaines, I am told, are as plenty in France as the Schmidts are in Germany. I am probably descended from some undistinguished Frenchman of that name who strayed to our side of the Rhine and married a German girl. For hundreds of years the connections of my family have been purely German, so that there is nothing French about me except my name."

Long before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as we have seen, French refugees became so numerous that they were able to found churches in several German cities,

but the great majority were scattered throughout Germany, and their descendants became thoroughly Germanized. Of this class there were, no doubt, many among the early settlers of Pennsylvania.

On the other hand the fact must be recognized that from an early period there were many German names in France, as may be seen by referring to ancient Huguenot records. Naturally, too, there were many Frenchmen who gave their names a German or English twist as soon as they left their native land; for in those days a French name was not supposed to confer distinction. This process, begun in Europe, was continued in America, so that in Pennsylvania but a small proportion of French surnames have preserved their original form. To refer only to names which occur to us at the time of writing, Fortineaux has become Fordney; L'Hommedieu, Lumdy; Chappelle, Schappel; Blanc, Blank; La Fleur, Leffler; Beauchamp, Bushong; De Jean, Shunk; Charpentier, Carpenter; Le Jeune, Young; Caquelin, Gackly—and so on to almost any extent.

From what has been said it becomes evident that surnames are not the most important element in determining the extent of the French element in the Reformed Church. There are, however, credible traditions and even documents which indicate that this element was much larger than is generally supposed. Not all the Huguenots, Walloons and French Swiss were Germanized before they crossed the ocean. In Lancaster—where a company of French traders had long been settled—the Rev. Charles Louis Boehme, who was pastor of the First Reformed Church from 1771 to 1775, preached regularly in the French language. This is distinctly stated in the records of the congregation. He also occasionally preached French in Philadelphia.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



EARLY REFORMED THEOLOGIAN.

ARMINIUS (1560-1609)

Whether French services were maintained in Lancaster after Boehme's resignation we do not know,⁴² but that there was a French community in Lancaster appears probable from the following quaint advertisement which we translate from the *Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung* of January 27, 1788:

"PETER AUDIRAC, from France, has the honor to announce to the Gentlemen and Ladies that he intends to keep a school in the French language. His wife makes known to the Ladies that she makes habits, caps, chapeaux, etc., after all sorts of fashions. He lives at the Widow Newman's."

Among the papers collected by Dr. Harbaugh there is a curious letter written in French by the Rev. Abraham Blumer, of Lehigh County, which may be of interest in this connection. It has, we believe, never appeared in print. Blumer was a Swiss minister who was sent to America in 1770 by the Synods of Holland, and was for more than thirty years pastor of Reformed churches in Allentown and its vicinity. In his early ministry he had acquired the French language, and on this ground the French Reformed Church of New York gave him a call which he felt constrained to decline because he had grown "rusty." In his declination he refers pleasantly to Pastor Boehme, and gives the congregation some excellent advice concerning the best way of securing a pastor. The letter is in its way unique, and we therefore reproduce it exactly as it was written:

⁴² Boehme was pastor of the Reformed Church of Hanover, Pa., from 1775 to 1781. It is known that some Huguenots had settled in that vicinity, but it does not appear that he preached to them in their native language. He died as pastor of the Second Street Reformed Church of Baltimore, about 1786.

“ Messieurs mes très chers Frères en J. C.

à la fois Le Duc de Mirepoix

in his Absence to —

Je me voir honoré de deux de Vos lettres à la fois, d'une de l'onzieme Juillet que je reçus le 21 de ce mois, et du Duplicat de la même qui me fut rendu un jour plutôt, savoir le 20 du Courant. Quant aux propositions que Vous me faites dans les dites Lettres, je suis fâché de ne me pas trouver en état de répondre a Vos Desirs. C'est vrai que je parlais la Lange françoise quelque peu il-y-a quelques années mais j'avoue ingenuement que je ne posséder jamais cette Langue dans un tel degre pour satisfaire à tous les Devoirs d'un Ministre établi dans une Eglise françoise, et à présent faute d'exercice la françois en bonne partie, s'en elle en oubli. Vous me dites dans Votre chere Lettre d'avoir appris, que j'avoir prêché il-y-a peu de tems en françois à Germantown, mais permettes que je Vous dise, mes très chers freres, que ce ne'etoit pas mois, mais mon Compagnon de Voïage dans ce pais-ci, Mr. Boehme Minister de Lancastre que precha un Sermon françois a Philadelphia au mois de May passé. Peutêtre Vous auriez plus d'assistance à esperer de ce côte-la que de ma Part. Mais comme les intentions de ce Mr. me ne sont pas connues, je crois la Voie la plus sure pour obtenir un fidele Ministre pour Votre Eglise seroit d'adresser à quelque pieux et zelé Ministre d'une Eglise françoise en Hollande, et je ne doute point si Vous exposerez Votra Situation, qu'il tacherai a persuader à quelque Ministre sans place, qui S'y trouvent toujours, d'entreprendre la Voïage pour la Nouvelle-York. En attendant Jesus Christ le fidel, bon et Souverain Pasteur de ces fideles veuille habiter entre Vous par la parole et Son Esprit, et Vous mes frères ne cessez

point de prier le maitre de la Moisson, qu'il envoie des ouvriers, car la moisson est grand et il-y-a peu d'ouvriers.

Je suis

Messieurs mes très cher Freres en J. C.

Votre très humble Serviteur,

Abraham Blumer.

Northampton, communement Allenstown

ce 28 de Novembre 1774.

Aux Conducteurs, Anciens, Diacres, et Committès

de l'Eglise françoise Reformée

à la Nouvelle-York."⁴³

⁴³ TRANSLATION: Dear Brethren in Jesus Christ, particularly the Duke of Mizepoix. In his absence to ———

I regard myself as honored by the receipt of two of your letters at once, one of the eleventh of July which I received on the 21st of this month, and a duplicate of the same which was delivered to me a day later, that is to say on the 20th of the present month. Concerning the propositions which you present to me in the said letters, I regret that I do not find myself in a position to respond to your wishes. It is true that I spoke the French language a little some years ago, but I honestly confess that I never comprehended that language to such a degree as to perform satisfactorily all the duties incumbent on a minister settled in a French church, and at present, for want of practice in French, I have in great measure forgotten even that. You tell me in your kind letter that you have been informed that I preached in French some time ago in Germantown, but permit me to inform you, my very dear brethren, that it was not I, but the companion of my voyage to this country, Mr. Boehme, minister at Lancaster, who preached a French sermon in Philadelphia in the month of May last. Possibly you would have more assistance to hope from him than from me. But as the views of that gentleman are unknown to me, I believe the most certain way of obtaining a faithful minister for your church would be to write to some pious and zealous minister of a French church in Holland, and I do not doubt that if you explain your situation, he will endeavor to persuade some minister without a charge, who may always be found there, to undertake the voyage to New York.

In the meantime may Jesus Christ, the faithful, good and sovereign pastor of His faithful ones, dwell among you with His word and His spirit, and you, my dear brethren, do not cease to pray the Lord of the harvest that He would send forth laborers, for the harvest is great and the laborers are few.

I am, my very dear brethren, in Jesus Christ, your most humble servant,

ABRAHAM BLUMER.

Northampton, commonly called Allenstown, Nov. 28, 1774.

To the leaders, elders, deacons and committees of the French Reformed Church of New York.

The French community of Lancaster has entirely disappeared, though some of the more eminent families—such as the Le Roys and Du Fresnes—are not yet entirely forgotten. In Berks County the French element was larger than in Lancaster, but there appears to be no sufficient evidence that religious services were conducted there in the French language.⁴⁴ The families claiming Huguenot descent were, however, numerous and influential. In looking over a tax-list, dated in 1759, we find in Oley such names as De Turk, Delaplaine, Barto, Bertolet, Madeira, and Roshon; in Maxatawny, LeVan, DeLong, Sharaadin, Chapelle, Queery and Wildrout; in Exeter and Union Townships, Burgoign, Brissence, Huet, Lebo (Le Beau), Mizell, and many others. Now it is no doubt true that many of these were Germanized before they crossed the sea, but there were others who could speak French.

That the Reformed Church was greatly benefited by its French accessions will hardly be denied. They were an active, energetic people, who naturally became leaders in the communities in which they dwelt. Many eminent ministers of the Reformed Church in the United States have been of Huguenot descent. John Jacob LaRose—the pioneer of the Church in Ohio—belonged to the family in Lehigh County who now generally write their name Laros. Jacob Descombes—author of a volume on “Baptism”—was thoroughly German, but took pleasure in recalling Huguenot traditions. Frederick Dallicker, pastor at Falkener Swamp during the concluding years of the eighteenth century, is said by Harbaugh to have been originally named De La Cour. This is probable enough for many similar changes have undoubtedly occurred.

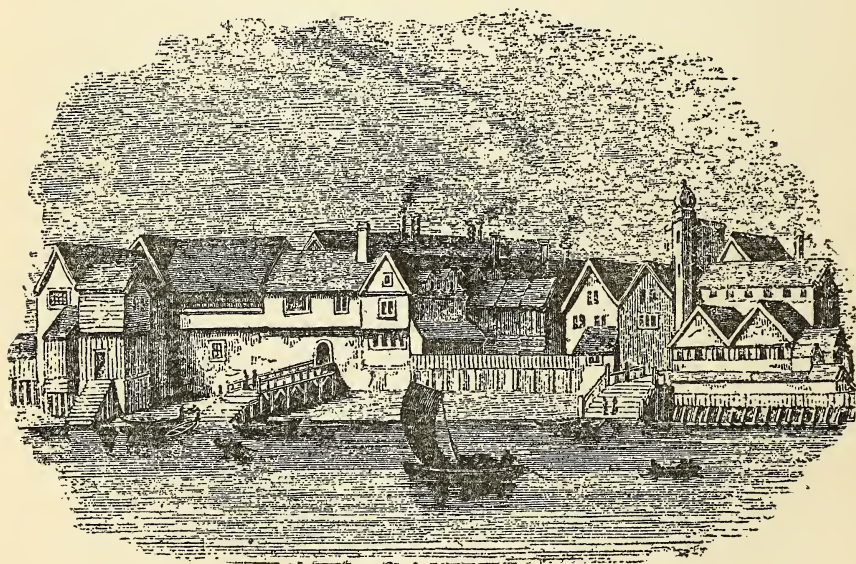
⁴⁴ The traditions concerning French preaching in the Alsace Church, near Reading, appear not to be sufficiently authenticated.

The late Rev. W. F. P. Davis, of Reading, ought to have been called De Wees ; and my old friend the Rev. William F. Colliflower was said to have been remotely descended from the Goranflot (or Goranflo) family.

Recognizing the personal excellence of many of the early Huguenots, and fully appreciating the value of their contribution to the social life of the Reformed Church, it can hardly be doubted that from an ecclesiastical standpoint the race manifested certain weaknesses which the historian can hardly ignore. Muhlenberg, who knew them well, once expressed his surprise that the people who in France had endured dreadful persecution and had sacrificed house and home for the sake of their faith, should in America manifest so little zeal for its preservation. Though they were numerous everywhere they established no churches, except in New York and South Carolina, and even in these provinces their efforts for ecclesiastical organization were of the slightest. In Pennsylvania, wherever they found Reformed Churches they joined them as a matter of course, and often became prominent members ; but elsewhere they connected themselves with the English churches, or became sectarian leaders, like DeBeneville and others. We are not blaming them for this tendency, but merely mention the facts to show that if they had held together they might have accomplished more for the advancement of the Church to which they rightfully belonged.

That, besides those we have mentioned, there were isolated representatives of other nationalities goes without saying. Here or there a wandering Irishman or Welshman settled among the Germans and his descendants assumed the language and customs of his neighbors. In eastern Pennsylvania there was also a little settlement of

Hollanders which was during the provincial period connected with the German Reformed Church, exerting an important influence on its early history. To this settlement we shall have occasion to refer hereafter.



“THE STEEL-YARD.”

Warehouses of the German Hansa in London in Seventeenth Century.



CHAPTER IV.

THE S. P. G.

Early Missionary Activity—John Frederick Haeger—John Henry Haeger—Germanna.



THE Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—which, for the sake of convenience is often designated by initials—was founded in London, in 1701. Its original purpose was “to develop the colonial Church and provide for the wants of the Indian tribes,” but its establishment marks an epoch in the history of missions throughout the world.

That this great society became interested in the German migration to America was entirely natural. Its records inform us⁴⁵ that “the arrival of a body of ‘poor palatines’ in England in 1709 enlisted English sympathy,” and for some years the missionaries of the society endeavored to provide these people with the preaching of the gospel.

⁴⁵ Digest of the Records of the S. P. G., p. 61.

There have been writers who have regarded this work without sympathy, as an effort of sectarian proselytism; but it should be remembered that in those days denominational distinctions were less marked than they became



BOOK PLATE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

in later times. The Church of England had, in 1618, sent delegates to the Synod of Dordrecht, and all over the continent it was fully recognized as one of the Reformed Churches. Stilling says: "The Anglican, that is

to say the English Church, is only different from the rest of the Reformed Church in this, that it has an episcopal form of government. Are the Swedish and Danish churches not Lutheran because they have bishops? Does the garment make the man?" The English Church was, in those days mild in doctrine and inclined to strengthen its Protestant elements; and the German ministers who entered its service and conformed to its usages, had no idea that they could be regarded as renouncing the faith of their fathers. The "S. P. G." was active among the French Reformed of the Carolinas. Among its earliest missionaries were Francis Le Jau, D.D., a native of Angiers, France, who died in South Carolina in 1717, and Francis Varnod, who is simply described as "a foreigner." There were also a number of Swiss who had received episcopal ordination from the English bishops, though they may not have been directly in the service of the "S. P. G." Graffenried, though a layman, had been "licensed by the Bishop of London to read service to the colonists."⁴⁶ "Rev. Joseph Bugnion, a Swiss minister," to whom we have already referred, "was induced to have Episcopal ordination laid upon him by the Rev. Dr. Clagett, Bishop of St. David's."⁴⁷ Dalcho, in his "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina," mentions several ministers of this type who are otherwise unknown. The Rev. Henry Chiffelle is said to have been a missionary of the "S. P. G." who was ordained by the Bishop of London as late as 1744. We suppose him to have been the same person as "a Swiss named Tschiffeli" who joined with Sebastian Zouberbuhler and a certain Simon, "a

⁴⁶ Good's "History of the Reformed Church in the United States," p. 60.

⁴⁷ "Bernheim," p. 96.

Rheder" to found a settlement on the Santee.⁴⁸ His successor was the Rev. Abraham Imer, who arrived in the province in 1760 and died in 1766.⁴⁹ The Rev. John Ulrich Giessendanner, who located in Orangeburg District, and his nephew who bore the same name, were also Swiss ministers who entered the service of the Church of England. They labored faithfully, but the fruit of their labors was not gathered by the church in which they were born.

More interesting in connection with our present work is the career of two men who more justly deserve to be regarded as pioneers of the German Reformed Church in this country. Until recently little was known concerning them, and the close resemblance, if not the identity, of their names was regarded as a curious coincidence. The researches of the Rev. William J. Hinke have, however, removed many difficulties, and the main facts in their history are now sufficiently plain. In December, 1898, Professor Hinke contributed a series of articles on this subject to the *Reformed Church Messenger*, and these we shall chiefly follow in relating a somewhat remarkable history.

THE HAEGERS.

In the brief records of the great Palatine migration of 1709 the name of John Frederick Haeger frequently appears.⁵⁰ He seems to have been the only clergyman who was specially commissioned to minister to a great multitude of Reformed people. The royal family of England was Lutheran, and the Lutheran pastors of London were its official agents in caring for the religious necessities of the Palatines. No doubt these pastors, as well as the pastors

⁴⁸ "Der Deutsche Pionier," Vol. 14, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Dalcho's "History of the P. E. Church of South Carolina," p. 386.

⁵⁰ The orthography of the name varies greatly. It has been written Hager, Hagar, Heger and Hoeger, but Haeger is probably most correct.

of the German Reformed Church of London, did all they could for the Reformed exiles; but it seems probable that for some time the latter were to a great extent suffered to shift for themselves. At last, on the 20th of December, the Bishop of London, at the solicitation of the "S. P. G.," ordained John Frederick Haeger for special service among the Palatines who were about to be sent to the colony of New York. An old pamphlet relates, in a style intended to be humorous, how he was immediately called upon to perform ministerial acts.⁵¹

John Frederick Haeger was born in Siegen, then a city in the principality of Nassau-Dillenberg, in 1684, and baptized on the 18th Sunday after Trinity of that year. He was the third son of John Henry Haeger, who, as we shall see hereafter, was a teacher in the Latin school of Siegen, and subsequently became pastor of a village in its vicinity. The son was carefully educated—first at home and afterwards at the universities of Herborn and Lingen. Certificates are extant which indicate his proficiency in scholarship. On the 14th of February, 1708, he was examined by the consistory of Siegen and licensed to preach the Gospel. The reasons which induced him to leave his fatherland are unknown; but in the following year we find him in London, where on the 20th of December, 1709, he was ordained by the Bishop of London, for service "among the Palatines, New York." The "S. P. G." granted him an annual salary of £50, together with a present of £15 for books.

During his voyage to America Haeger suffered greatly. He says in his first report to the Society: "I was hardly a fort-night on ship-board but a violent fever seized me and

⁵¹ "The German Exodus to Pennsylvania in 1709," by F. R. Diffenderffer, p. 145.

kept me for six weeks, even almost beyond hopes of recovery; which has been very expensive to me, our ships having lain long in the harbours, especially that of Portsmouth, insomuch that I have not brought one farthing ashore."

On the 19th of June, 1710, Haeger arrived in New York. Almost immediately afterwards he began to preach in the City Hall; but when Governor Hunter removed the Palatines up the Hudson he accompanied them. Here for several years he ministered to the Reformed people, as Kocherthal did to the Lutherans. In his letters he gives a full account of his trials and privations. "At first," says Professor Hinke, "he lived in a little log hut at Annsbury, but later on he was able to build a frame house, large enough to hold about 200 people; 'the rest had to stay without.' Here he conducted his services for many years, till the Palatines dispersed through the whole Hudson valley and the neighboring valleys. Then he became an itinerant preacher, travelling almost continuously from one settlement to another, dispensing to the hungry souls of his hearers the bread of life and the sacraments of the Church."

Haeger reported that on the 15th of August, 1711, he baptized an Indian, "using great pains in instructing him." He devoted some time to the study of the Indian language, and collected a small vocabulary, which appears to be lost. About the same time he served as chaplain to three hundred Palatines who engaged in an unsuccessful expedition against the French.

When in 1712-'13 a large number of the Palatines removed to Schoharie, Haeger remained in the original settlement. He seems, however, to have made frequent journeys to Schoharie, and it was here that on the 22d of

November, 1720, he married Conrad Weiser to his "Anna Eva."⁵² Weiser calls him "*reformirter Prediger*," and there can be no doubt that—notwithstanding his relations to the "S. P. G."—he was popularly regarded as belonging to the Reformed Church. That he sought to induce his people to "conform" to the Episcopal Church is sufficiently plain; but though under the circumstances they submitted to the use of the liturgy, it does not seem likely that most of them appreciated the extent of the changes which it was proposed to introduce. It is possible that the London Society had some inkling of the state of affairs when, in 1717, Haeger's stipend was suddenly discontinued. It was said, indeed, by way of extenuation, that the design of the Society was "chiefly the conversion of heathens and infidels"; but there can be no doubt that it was elsewhere making strenuous efforts to gather the Dutch and Germans into the Church of England. There can, at any rate, be no doubt that the congregations which Haeger founded did not regard themselves as having separated from the church of the fathers: for they were subsequently served by a long succession of Reformed ministers.

On the 15th of November, 1715, the Rev. John Frederick Haeger was married to Anna Maria Rohrbach. The marriage was solemnized by the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal. At this time Haeger lived in the village of Queensbury, afterwards known as Kingsbury.

The few remaining years of Haeger's life were full of privation and suffering. He began the erection of a church in Kingsbury in 1715, but was unable to complete it for lack of funds. In a journey from Schoharie to Albany he was thrown from his horse and seriously injured. When

⁵² "Hall. Nachr.," I, 449. Rupp's "History of Berks County," p. 200.

he was brought in a wagon to his home, the party was attacked by a number of drunken Indians who nearly killed him. He continued to work for some time longer, but died in the winter of 1721, or the spring of 1722. In 1721 the "S. P. G." voted him £50 for past services, but he did not live to receive the gift.

Such is the brief story of the labors of the man who must be regarded as the pioneer of the German Reformed Church in the province of New York. It is in itself sufficiently strange, but derives additional interest from the fact that it is now plain that the pastor of the earliest Reformed Church in Virginia was closely related to the missionary in New York. That the two men must have occasionally communicated may perhaps be taken for granted; but on this point there is much obscurity, which future investigations may perhaps remove. Indeed we may venture to assert that the fact of this relation would hardly have suggested itself to any investigator, if it had not been rendered certain by the records of the fatherland. The traces of the activity of the Virginia pioneer—whose name has generally been written "Hoeger"—have always been regarded as peculiarly vague and elusive; but it is now possible to give a brief sketch of his somewhat remarkable career.⁵³

JOHN HENRY HAEGER, the son of Henry Haeger, was born about 1644 in Antshausen, a village in Nassau. Of his early life nothing is known, but in 1678 he became teacher of the third class of the Latin school at Siegen. On the 3d of December, 1678, he was married to Anna Catharine Friesenhagen, daughter of Jacob Friesenhagen,

⁵³ For further information we refer to Professor Hinke's articles in the *Reformed Church Messenger* (1899) and to Gen. John E. Roller's address at the Sesqui-Centennial services held in Hagerstown, Md., Oct. 20, 1897.

mayor of Freudenberg. They had a large family, of whom John Frederick was the third son.

For many years John Henry Haeger was connected with the Latin school at Siegen, serving after 1689 as conrector, or assistant rector. That he was ordained a minister is evident from the fact that in 1703 he was promoted to the pastorate at Fischbach. Here he remained until about 1711 when, as we are informed by Cuno, the historian of Siegen, he resigned his pastorate and went to America.

At this time Haeger must have been nearly or quite seventy years old. The reasons which induced him to undertake so dangerous a journey at his advanced years must of course be left to conjecture, though it should be remembered that the fever for emigration nowhere burned more fiercely than at Siegen; and, of course, the enthusiasm of his son, who was even then in America, may not have been without influence.

The time and circumstances of Haeger's removal to America have been a subject of some discussion. It has been generally believed that he accompanied Baron Grafenried's colony to North Carolina, and subsequently removed to Virginia with some of the survivors. According to recent researches, this supposition is, however, no longer tenable.⁵⁴ In 1713 Haeger petitioned the "S. P. G." for aid to go to America, and the following statement appears on the journal of the society under date of Oct. 2, 1713. "Reported from the committee that they had taken into consideration the petition of Mr. Hager, father of Mr. Hager, the society's missionary among the Palatines in the

⁵⁴ The recent biography of Graffenried, published by the Historical Society of Berne, informs us (p. 25) that there was no minister in this colony of 1710, but that Graffenried himself had been authorized by the bishop of London to perform baptisms and marriages.

province of New York, to them referred, and that they agreed as their opinion that the case of said Mr. Haeger does not properly lie before the society." It is, therefore, evident that in October, 1713, Haeger had not yet crossed the ocean, and the fact appears from other sources that he actually came across with a company that arrived in Virginia in April, 1714.

Concerning this colony of twelve families there has been much confusion, but the facts appear to be briefly as follows: When Graffenried came to Virginia after the misfortune which had overtaken his colony in North Carolina, he was desirous of settling some of the survivors, but in consequence of difficulties concerning the title of lands the arrangements were not concluded. He arrived in London at Easter, 1713, and there found waiting for him a company

of forty miners whom he had previously engaged to work for Governor Spotswood of Virginia, who was the pioneer of mining industries in that colony. At first Graffenried tried to induce them to return to their native country, but they were anxious to emigrate, and at last two Virginia merchants advanced the money for their passage, which was probably re-



ARMS OF VIRGINIA.

funded by Governor Spotswood, for whom the immigrants engaged themselves to labor for a term of four years. Graffenried returned to Switzerland.

It was with this company that Haeger came to America. How the Governor settled them at Germanna, in what is now Orange County, has been elsewhere related, and we

need not enter into particulars. The first settlers were mostly Reformed, though there were several Lutherans.⁵⁵ The number, however, rapidly increased. A second company arrived in 1717, and these appear to have been mainly Lutherans. Afterwards there was a third company of forty families, concerning whom we have no particulars. It is possible too—though we have no direct documentary evidence on the subject—that among the early settlers there were some who had originally belonged to Graffenried's colony in North Carolina. During this early period, however, Haeger was the only pastor.

In 1714 John Fontaine and John Clayton, of Williamsburg, visited Germanna, and have left us an interesting account of the place and of the conditions of the early settlers. "We went," says this account, "to the German minister's house, and finding nothing to eat, lived upon our own provisions and lay upon the straw. Our beds not being easy, we got up at break of day, and in a hard rain walked about the town, which is palisaded with sticks, stuck in the ground close to each other, and of substance to resist musket shot. There are but nine families and nine houses all in a line and before every house, twenty feet distant, they have sheds for their hogs and hens, so that hogstys on one side and dwellings on the other, make a street. The place staked in is a pentagon regularly laid out, and in the center is a blockhouse with five sides, answering to the five sides of the great enclosure. There are loop holes in it from which you can see all of the inside of the great enclosure. This is intended for a retreat, in case of their not being able to defend the palisades from the Indians. They use the blockhouse for divine service. They go to prayers once a day and have two services on

⁵⁵ "Hall. Nachr.," new ed., 1886, I., p. 576.

Sunday. We went to hear them perform their service, which is done in their own language, which we did not understand, but they seemed very devout and sing the Psalms very well. This settlement is (1714) thirty miles from any inhabitant. They live very miserably. For want of provisions we were obliged to go. We got from the minister a bit of smoked beef and cabbage and gave him thirty shillings and took our leave. In less than three hours on our way we saw nineteen deer, and we lodged at Mr. Smith's at the falls of the Rappahannock."

It is said that the Germans were dissatisfied with the treatment which they received from Gov. Spotswood. At any rate the Reformed element, in 1718,⁵⁶ left Germanna, and founded a settlement which they called Germantown in what is now Fauquier County.⁵⁷ They were accompanied by their pastor and by their excellent schoolmaster, John Holtzclaw. The elders of the congregation were Johann Jost Merdten and Hans Jacob Richter. The descendants of these men now call themselves Martin and Rector.

The Lutherans appear to have remained at Germanna some time longer, but finally they also removed, and founded the "Hebron" Church, in Madison County,⁵⁸ which is still in existence. As early as 1724, Germanna appears to have been entirely deserted by the Germans.⁵⁹

The church built at Germantown was in all probability the earliest edifice erected exclusively for purposes of worship by a German Reformed congregation in this country. It has long since disappeared, but its foundations could

⁵⁶ Gen. Roller's Address.

⁵⁷ "The site of this place is on a small stream, called Licking Run, about eight miles below Warrenton, in Fauquier County."—Roller.

⁵⁸ "Hallesche Nachrichten," I., pp. 577-585 (note).

⁵⁹ Hugh Jones, "The Present State of Virginia," p. 59.

until recently be traced. According to the autobiography of the Rev. Dr. James Kemper, an eminent Presbyterian divine, who was himself a descendant of one of the earliest settlers, there were both a church and school-building at Germantown, and German was the common language of school, church, and business "for sixty years before the Revolutionary War."

When the people of Germantown set out to erect a church, they naturally appealed for aid to their brethren across the sea. First they turned to the London Society, as their pastor had vainly done on a previous occasion. Their petition, which bears traces of having been written for them by a strong Anglican, was presented, Oct. 2, 1719, but there is no evidence that it brought the desired result. Many writers have quoted from this interesting document, but it may be worth while to reproduce the following section :

"For the enjoyment of the ministries of religion there will be a necessity of building a small church in the place of their settlement and of maintaining a minister, who shall catechize, read and perform divine service among them in the German tongue, which is the only tongue they do yet understand. There went over, indeed, with the first twelve families one minister, named Henry Haeger, a very sober, honest man of about 75 years of age, but being likely to be past service in a short time, they have empowered Mr. Jacob Christopher Zollikofer, of St. Gall, Switzerland, to go into Europe and there to obtain, if possible, some contributions from pious and charitable Christians towards the building of their church, and bringing over with him a young German minister to assist the aforesaid Mr. Haeger in the ministry of religion, and to succeed him when he shall die ; to get him ordained in England

by the Right Reverend, the Lord Bishop of London, and to bring over with him the liturgy of the Church of England translated into High Dutch, which they were desirous to use in public worship."

The results of Mr. Zollikofer's mission, are unknown; but some years ago Mr. H. S. Dotterer discovered in the *Extraordinaire Kaiserliche-Reichs-Post Zeitung* of June 15, 1720, a somewhat similar appeal for contributions for the erection of a church and schoolhouse in Virginia, and this was probably connected with the same general movement. In this appeal there appears to be a slight confusion in facts and figures, but the paragraph which is historically most interesting reads as follows:

"It will be remembered by everybody how some years ago several thousand people of both sexes and different religions emigrated from the Palatinate and neighboring places to be transported to America. Although a part of this people died and a part returned to Germany, yet 700 persons were sent to Carolina and 300 families to New York. But 72 families came to Virginia; the largest part of them, however, had to pay the passage, according to the custom of the country, with several years of servitude among the Englishmen there; the rest being free consist of thirty-two families, of whom twelve are Evangelical Reformed and twenty Evangelical Lutheran. They, together with an old Reformed minister, Henry Hager, seventy-six years of age, have established a colony in the year 1714 in the said Virginia called Germantown on the Brapenhanck (Rappahannock) River."

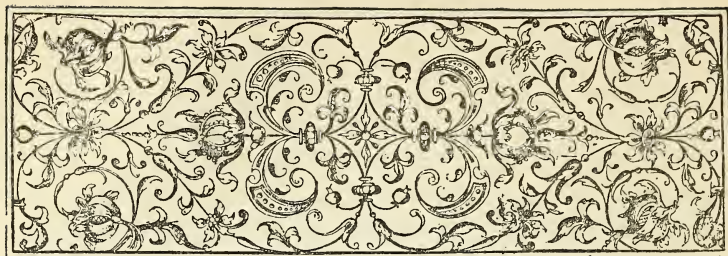
John Henry Haeger died in 1737. His will, written in 1733, was admitted to probate in Prince Williams County, on March 26, 1737. In it he speaks of his wife, Anna Catharine, as still living. The will is signed "H. Haeger,

Verbi Dei Minister." He was evidently poor in this world's goods; but—as is not unusual when ministers pass away—he left “a parcel of books and one large Bible.”

According to the dates here given Haeger must have been nearly or quite ninety-three years old at the time of his death. This great age might naturally lead one to suspect an error; but it will be observed that it is fairly well substantiated, and that, at any rate, it cannot be far out of the way. Among his numerous descendants was the Hon. James Lawson Kemper, Governor of Virginia.

General Roller presents a strong argument to show that some of the members of the church at Germantown removed to Rockingham County and these founded the “Friedens Kirche,” “the mother of six or eight churches in that and the neighboring county of Augusta.” This, he holds, is the site of New Germantown, which Schlatter visited during his memorable journey. Rupp informs us that Rockingham and Augusta Counties were settled prior to 1746,⁶⁰ and a connection between these early settlements is, therefore, altogether probable. It is, at any rate, pleasant to believe that though Haeger's church died early, it became before its death the mother of Reformed Churches in the Valley in Virginia.

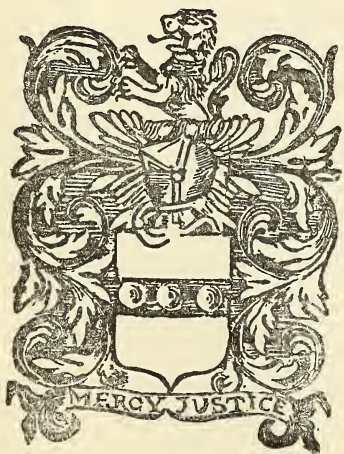
⁶⁰ “Fireside History,” MS.



CHAPTER V.

NESHAMINY AND GERMANTOWN.

Pioneers in Pennsylvania—A Dutch Settlement—Paulus Van Vlecq—
White Marsh and Germantown.



THAT there were Reformed people among the earliest settlers of Pennsylvania may be regarded as certain. It has been claimed in behalf of certain well-known Reformed laymen—such as Henry Frey and the father of Jacob Reiff, of Skippack—that they came to this country before the arrival of Wm. Penn. They were here, at any rate, very soon after that event. Isaac Dil-

beck, an energetic member of the Reformed Church, arrived in 1683, in the same vessel with Pastorius.

The writer is indebted to Mr. Julius F. Sachse for an extract from a letter dated Germantown, February 12, 1684,

written by one of the Van Bebbers to the elder Jawert, in which the writer says :

“Man findet in Pennsylvania (auserhalb uns) Lutherische und Reformirte. Die ersten haben zwei Prediger, ihre Früchte aber geben Zeugniß dass sie Lehrer sind ohne Geist. Zu Neucastell wohnen meist Holländer. Die Reformirten haben alda anitzo keinen Prediger. Die Papisten alda haben keine Versammlung.”

TRANSLATION.

“There are in Pennsylvania (besides ourselves) Lutherans and Reformed. The former have two preachers, but their fruits bear testimony that they are teachers without spirit. In New Castle most of the inhabitants are Hollanders. The Reformed have at present no preacher there. The Papists at that place have no congregation.”

So far as the Reformed Church is concerned this extract appears to refer most directly to New Castle, Delaware, where we know a Dutch Reformed congregation had been founded as early as 1654. The statement, that besides the sect-people, there were Lutherans and Reformed in Pennsylvania at that early date is, however, decidedly interesting.

There is no proof that the church in New Castle ever exerted any influence beyond its immediate vicinity; but it is to a little Dutch settlement in Bucks County, Penna., that, at a somewhat later date, we must look for the first signs of missionary activity.

This settlement was called Neshaminy, deriving its name from a creek which enters the Delaware below Bristol. That a Dutch settlement was founded in Pennsylvania may appear remarkable; but it was in fact “an overflow” from New Jersey, where Hollanders were numerous.

In this region a congregation was organized on the 20th of May, 1710, by the Rev. Paulus Van Vlecq, who had previously been a schoolmaster at Kinderhook, and is said to have been irregularly ordained by Freeman. The congregation which he founded consisted of several preaching points, and was officially known as "Bensalem and Sammeny" (Neshaminy). The Bensalem section was in 1719 reorganized as a Presbyterian Church, and retained the early records;⁶¹ but Neshaminy (or "Sammeny") remained Reformed, and subsequently exerted an important influence in the organization of the German Churches.⁶² Van Vlecq himself joined the Presbyterians, but is said to have returned to Europe in 1715.

It is evident that Van Vlecq regarded himself as missionary to a somewhat extensive field. The Bensalem record says: "Den 20 May int jaer onser heeren Jesu Christie, 1710, is Mr. Paulus Van Vlecq bevestigt voor pastor of herder en Leeraar in de kercke Jesu Christie tot Shamenie bensalem en Germantown ende omleggende Dorpen." On the day after the organization of the church and his own installation, Van Vlecq installed Hendrick Van Dyck and Leendert van der Grift as elders, and Stoffel van Sandt and Nicolaus van der Grift as deacons of the church at Neshaminy.

A few days later pastor Van Vlecq started on his earliest missionary journey. A little further to the west along the banks of the Skippack Creek there was a little settlement of Hollanders and *Plattdeutsch*. Here, on the 29th of May, the Neshaminy pastor baptized a number of

⁶¹ A transcript of these records may be found in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁶² This congregation was until 1772 ecclesiastically connected with the German churches, but has since then belonged to the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America. The charge now consists of two congregations, North and South Hampton.

children. It does not appear that he founded a church at Skippack, but at White Marsh (*Wytmes*) he ordained elders and deacons on the 4th of June of the same year. The elders were Hans Hendricks Meels and Evert Ten Heuven,⁶³ and Isaac Dilbeck and William De Wees were deacons. Of these persons the deacons are best remembered. Isaac Dilbeck was one of the founders of Germantown; but in 1700 he purchased five hundred acres in the township of White Marsh, where he probably subsequently resided. Pastorius mentions him kindly in his correspondence,⁶⁴ and he was evidently a worthy man. On Christmas Day, 1710, he was promoted to the eldership of the church at White Marsh, and for many years remained one of its leaders. When John Philip Boehm took charge of the congregation in 1725 he was still an active member, and as late as 1730 he was an officer of the church.

William De Wees was a native of Leeuwarden, in Friesland, and came to America with others of his family about 1689, when he was about thirteen years old. In the same year his sister, Wilhelmina, was married in New York to Nicholas Rittenhouse. Soon afterwards the De Wees family removed to Germantown, Pennsylvania, and in due time William became a man of wealth and influence. In 1710 he built the second paper mill in America, which—as Mr. Dotterer informs us—was situated “on the west side of the Wissahickon, in that part of Germantown called Crefeld.”

William De Wees and his wife—as well as other members of the same family—were members of the Reformed Church of White Marsh. Indeed, it is evident that De Wees was regarded as, in some sense, the patriarch of the congregation. For twenty years, at least, during the

⁶³ This name is now generally written De Haven though in early records it sometimes appears as Im Hoff and Inden Hoff.

⁶⁴ Dotterer's "Historical Notes," p. 15.

pastorate of John Philip Boehm, the Reformed people met at his house for worship, and his death, which occurred March 3, 1745, was a blow from which the little flock was never able to recover.

The other members of the first consistory are not entirely unknown. Evert Ten Heuven, as the Dutch pastor wrote his name, was a native of Mühlheim on the Ruhr, and came to America in 1698. Hans Hendricks Meels was in 1701 chosen Recorder of Germantown.

It has been asserted that Van Vlecq organized a Reformed congregation in Germantown, but this appears to be doubtful. It is true that he calls himself pastor of "Shamenie, Bensalem and Germantown and neighboring villages," but this statement must, we think, be taken in a very general sense, merely claiming pastoral care of the Reformed people residing in these places. It will be observed that some of the leading members of the White Marsh congregation resided in Germantown, which would hardly have been the case if a congregation had been organized in the latter place.

The beginnings of the Reformed Church in Germantown, Pa., are very obscure. It has been asserted⁶⁵ that a Reformed church was built there in 1719 and that the Swedish pastor, Dylander, laid the corner stone, but there is evidently some confusion here, as Dylander did not arrive in America until 1737. It is also stated that "after 1725 the congregation had a bell on its place of worship"; but this assertion seems to be founded on the fact that the bell on the old church bore that date. It is plain, however, that the bell may have been cast and dated before the erection of the church.

We do not desire to intimate that the Reformed people of Germantown may not have occasionally held religious

⁶⁵ Halle Reports, Reading ed., p. 62.

services at an earlier date than has generally been supposed. As early as 1686 a meeting-house was built "for the benefit of the community," and it is quite possible that Van Vlecq, or some other Dutch dominie, may have occasionally occupied the pulpit. Heinrich Bernhard Köster, who was probably the earliest preacher in Germantown, is said to have been born at Blumenberg (or Blomberg) in Lippe-Detmold—a Reformed principality; but at this time his attitude towards the Reformed Church appears to have been indifferent, if not hostile. There is, in brief, no proof that an organized Reformed congregation existed in Germantown in the days of the earliest pioneers. For the present we shall hold to the view of earlier historians, that the Reformed Church of Germantown properly dates its origin from the religious meetings which were held in 1726, or soon afterwards, by the pious turner, John Bechtel, who subsequently became the pastor of the congregation.

The question might here be asked: In what language were the religious services of the Reformed Church conducted in those early days? That the Dutch language was exclusively used in the church at Neshaminy can hardly be doubted; but it might be hard to prove that Van Vlecq was unable to speak German. On the other hand Boehm, who became pastor at White Marsh some years afterwards, was a German, but he could write Dutch well enough, and it is probable that he could speak it after a fashion. It is said that many of the people of Germantown and its vicinity at first spoke "Crefeld-Hollandish," a sort of *lingua franca* that was derived from the lower Rhine. No doubt the language of the pulpit was of the same general character; or possibly the minister may have begun in one language and then have glided insensibly into the other. In recent times we have sometimes heard German and English treated in a very similar fashion.



CHAPTER VI.

SAMUEL GULDIN.

Pietist and Pioneer—Earliest German Reformed Minister in Pennsylvania.



THAT Samuel Guldin was the earliest ordained German minister of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania appears to be certain. Apart from a vague tradition among his descendants there was nothing known about him in the church of this country until a few years ago. In 1863 his aged namesake and de-

scendant, Samuel Guldin, of Berks County, told the writer that he had been informed that his grandfather had been a Reformed minister; but he could relate no particulars of his career. To have been strictly correct he ought to have said that the minister was the grandfather of his grandfather.

The appearance, in 1885, of Hildeburn's "Issues of the Pennsylvania Press" first directed the attention of the writer to the fact that Guldin had, in 1743, published a

book on the title-page of which he is styled "late preacher in the three principal churches of Berne, in Switzerland." Here was a clue which deserved to be followed. If Guldin ever occupied a position of such prominence it seemed probable that his name was still remembered in the fatherland. A correspondence with the city librarian of Berne, and with other gentlemen in Switzerland, led to the collection of the material for an article in the *Reformed Quarterly Review*, for July, 1892, entitled "Samuel Guldin, Pietist and Pioneer." Some additional facts have since been discovered, but the outlines of the story have proved more nearly correct than the author had ventured to anticipate. Though the American career of its subject still remains in some respects obscure, we are able to present a sketch of the life of a somewhat remarkable man.

Samuel Guldin⁶⁶ was born in Berne, Switzerland, in 1664.⁶⁷ He belonged to a family of some prominence which was originally derived from St. Gall, but had, in 1633, acquired the right of citizenship in Berne. He was well educated, not only at Berne, but in foreign universities.

It was at this time that Pietism, as taught by Jean de Labadie, Spener and Untereyck, swept over the land. That there was room for reaction against the cold formalism of the times will not be denied; but, as is usual in great religious movements, there were undeniable extravagancies, and when the authorities of the church and state interfered, the innocent were often made to suffer with the guilty.

⁶⁶ The orthography of the family name has varied considerably. In early publications it appears as Guldin, but in Europe and America it was popularly called Guldi or Guldý.

⁶⁷ He was baptized April 8, 1664.—Good's "History," p. 69. The exact date of his birth seems not to have been recorded.

In his subsequently published "Apologie" Guldin minutely relates the circumstances under which he became a Pietist. He excuses his German teachers from any attempt to influence him in favor of Pietism, because, he says, "they did not know anything about it." It was on a journey to Geneva, in company with three of his fellow-students, that his mind was influenced in this direction. One of his companions fell ill at Geneva, and during his illness the whole company were brought to a knowledge of their spiritual condition and "became so united in spirit that they ever afterwards remained faithful to each other."

Guldin did not, however, date his conversion from this occasion. He became pastor at Stettlen, a league from Berne, but for nine months was greatly troubled in mind, so that he finally made up his mind to retire from the ministry. At last, when he supposed he had preached his last sermon, another change occurred. He says: "On the 4th of August, 1693, between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, the light of faith arose, and was born within me. In that hour all my scruples and difficulties disappeared, so that I was never afterwards affected by them; and I began to preach with new power, so that my whole congregation became aware that a change had taken place in my soul."

In the village where Guldin preached there were people who had been carried away by the spirit of pietism in its extremest form. These gathered around him and sounded his praises throughout the land. Great crowds gathered to hear him preach, and soon phenomena appeared, similar to those from whom the Quakers derived their name. There were quakings and tremblings, and strong men cried aloud for mercy. It does not appear that Guldin at any time expressly approved of these manifestations, but he refused to condemn them, and this was in itself enough to

rouse the suspicions of the authorities. Besides this, his companions on the journey to Geneva were now settled in their native canton, and several of these went further than Guldin in their approval of the "new measures." One of them even ventured to criticise the government—an act which was in those days regarded as the greatest of crimes.

In the first glow of popular enthusiasm Guldin had been chosen, on the 26th of December, 1696, *diaconus*, or assistant pastor of the cathedral church of the neighboring city of Berne. It is no doubt perfectly true, as he claims on the title-page of his books, that he preached in turn in the three principal churches of the city. His election was regarded as a great triumph by the pietistic party, and his friend Lutz wrote an imprudent letter which unfortunately fell into the hands of the authorities. Playing on the name of the successful candidate, he said: "Golden tidings! This day our *golden* brother, Guldin, was elected *diaconus* by a majority of the council. Glory to God who doeth wonders! May He anoint the man whom He has ordained! How will it sound in the ears of our enemies? The 'arch-sectarian' is now a city pastor and a member of the ministerium and council. Thus the stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner. Inform the brethren, so that they may praise God and help us to contend for the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

For more than two years Guldin occupied his important pastorate, and his popularity constantly increased. His enemies, however, were alert, and Guldin and two of his friends, Koenig and Lutz, were in 1699 cited to appear before the Great Council of the canton. The result of the ensuing trial was probably a foregone conclusion, and on the 9th of June all the accused were condemned. Koenig, who had spoken disrespectfully of the government, was

deposed from the ministry and banished from the canton. In the case of Guldin and Lutz the judgment was a little less severe. They were deprived of their pastoral charges, and forbidden to teach either in public or private, or to attend "conventicles," under penalty of deposition from the ministry. If they should agree to renounce Pietism, and to submit to the Helvetic Confession and the decrees of the Council, they might at the pleasure of the authorities, "be appointed to positions inferior to those which they had hitherto occupied, and as far distant as possible from the city of Berne."

In accordance with this decree Guldin was offered an obscure parish, but he either withdrew or was removed within the same year.⁶⁸ According to the family tradition he was for some time imprisoned, and this is altogether probable if he ventured to express his opinion of the treatment which he had received. For several years he resided in Germany, and in 1710 he sailed to America.⁶⁹ He brought with him his wife and four children, Samuel, Maria Catharina, Christoffel and Emanuel Frederick. In America he lived more than thirty-five years, but what he did during all this time we are unable to determine. At first, he tells us in a letter to Germany, he lived in the house in Roxborough, previously occupied by Kelpius and Matthäi, and as he afterwards purchased land not far away it is probable that he made that region his permanent home. He seems to have been possessed of considerable means for he purchased the farm in Oley, which was occupied by his son Samuel, together with other valuable property. Whether the father ever lived in Oley, we do

⁶⁸ A manuscript note on the title-page of the "Apologie," in the possession of the writer says he was appointed pastor "in der Lengg." Dr. Good fixes the place at Boltingen, a mountain parish south of Berne.

⁶⁹ See Good's "History," p. 74, where is a copy of an interesting letter, written after his arrival, giving an account of his voyage.

not know. Records of the marriage of several of his children have been found in Philadelphia. It is almost certain that several years after his arrival in this country his wife died, and that he was married a second time.

The only certain assurance which we have that Guldin ever preached in this country is derived from a report to Holland in 1739, in which Boehm incidentally remarks that "in Germantown old Guldi occasionally preaches." Once we know he visited Ephrata. The *Chronicon Ephratense* says: "When a learned scholar named Gulde saw Beissel's 'Ninety-nine Mystical Sayings' he traveled to him and asked him why he had made ninety-nine of them and not one hundred. His answer was that when the number ninety-nine was reached he was stopped by the spirit." The family tradition describes Guldin as a successful and enterprising farmer who occasionally preached and administered the sacraments, as his services were required, though without a regular charge. It is, however, barely possible that this tradition refers to his son, Samuel, who had been brought up under pietistic influences, and may have occasionally preached to the people.

The chief interest connected with Guldin's later years is derived from three books which he published after his arrival in America.⁷⁰ Of these books the "Apologie" is the

⁷⁰ I. "Kurtze Apologie oder Schutz-Schrift der unschuldig verdächtigmachten und verworffenen Pietisten zu Bern in der Schweiz; in sich haltend.

"1. Die wider sie gethane Relation der Commission vor einer hohen Obrkeit daselbst, so beschehen den 9 ten Junii 1699.

"2. Die Apologie oder Shutz-Schrift dagagen, aufgesetzt und ans Licht gegeben von Samuel Guldin, gewesenen Prediger und Diacono in allen dreyen Haupt-Kirchen daselbst. Gedruckt zu Philadelphia im Jahr Christi, 1718."

II. "Kurtze Lehr und Gegensätze zu Erläuterung und Rettung der Gottlichen Wahrheit," von Samuel Guldin. Philadelphia, 1718.

III. "Samuel Guldins, gewesenen Prediger in den Drey Haupt Kirchen zu Bern in der Schweiz, Sein unpartheyisches Zeugnuß über die neue Vereinigung aller Religions-Partheyen in Pennsylvania." Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur in Germantown, 1743.

Kurze
APOLOGIE
 oder
Schüz-Schriſt

Der unſchuldig verdächtig-gemachten und
 verworffenen

Nietiſten
 zu Bern in der Schweiz:
 in ſich haltend.

I. Die wider ſie gethane Relation der Commiſſion
 vor einer hohen Oberkeit daſelbſt/
 ſo beſchehen den 9. Junii 1699.

II. Die Apologie oder Schüz-Schriſt dagegen/
 aufgeſetzt und ans Licht gegeben
 von

Samuel Müldin/
 geweſenen Prediger und Diacono in allen dreyn
 Haupt-Kirchen daſelbſt.



Gedruckt zu Philadelphia
 im Jahr Chriſti 1718.

most important. It contains a full account of his trial, and is a defense against the accusations that were preferred against him. In most instances he acknowledges the facts but denies the inferences. In fact, the book is a defense of Pietism, though the author is evidently not a fanatic. The argument is strong and the style good, though occasionally the writer lapses into Swiss forms of speech.

The second publication, published in the same year, we have not seen, but from its title it is easy to conclude that it was in some sense connected with the former work. It is remarkable that the author should have waited nearly twenty years before publishing these vindications; but the fact shows how deeply and permanently his European experiences had affected him. The earliest book purports to have been printed in Philadelphia, and the second bears the same imprint. This can hardly be literally correct; for in those days there was no German press in America. Besides this, it may be remarked that the printing and general appearance of the book is greatly superior to anything that could have been produced in this country. Probably the author sent his manuscripts to Germany and had them printed there. The publishers may have deemed it prudent to assume an American imprint, so as to avoid possible complications with the authorities; or it may have been intended to intimate obscurely that the work was published under the auspices of one of the Philadelphian societies which then existed in Germany.

After an interval of twenty-five years Guldin once more appeared as an author. He had attended a meeting of the "Congregation of God in the Spirit," which proposed to unite the German churches of Pennsylvania, but had evidently no confidence in the permanence of the movement. The book in which he expressed this judgment was pub-

lished by Christopher Saur in 1743. It consisted of five separate tracts. In four of these he gives his reasons for opposing the union movement; but in the fifth, which was written in defense of the Rev. James Davenport, a celebrated revivalist, he opposes formalism in the church, and intimates, as he had done in the "Apologie," that religious revivals should not be opposed, but rather kept within proper bounds.

Guldin evidently remained to the last a moderate Pietist, and from our present point of view nothing can be said against his position. As a work of literature his latest publication is of little importance, and we can hardly suppose that it ever exerted an extensive influence.

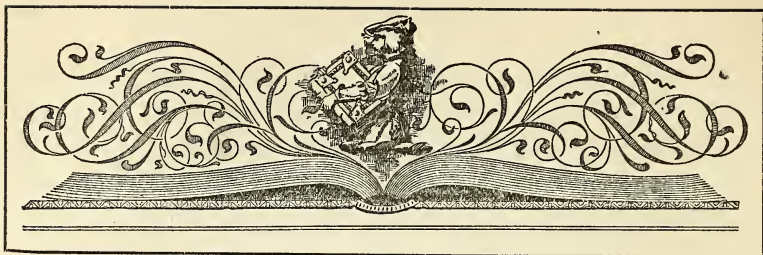
Guldin died on the 31st of December, 1745. Saur's paper of January 16, 1746, contains this brief notice: "*Der sonst von vielen Jahren her bekannte Samuel Guldin ist in Philadelphia den Tag vorm neuen Jahr gestorben in 81 ten Jahr seines Alters.*" Concerning the circumstances of his death we have no particulars; but he left an unsigned will—a curious document in several languages, in which he expressed a desire that a part of his property should be given to the poor.

We know so little about Guldin's later years that we can hardly refer with confidence to his character and work. That he was a learned man and a fine pulpit orator is sufficiently evident. With his splendid talents he might, we think, have accomplished a great work; but of his ministerial activity in America hardly a trace remains. From his writings we conclude that his mind continued to dwell on the scene of his early trials; and if he felt no enthusiasm for the upbuilding in America of a church whose authorities had in Switzerland treated him with unkindness, not to say injustice, the fact is at least intelligible. He

remained, however, firmly attached to Reformed standards, and his children were educated in the same faith. He was a devout man, and deservedly holds an honorable place at the very beginning of the history of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania.



SPECIMEN OF EPHRATA PENWORK.



CHAPTER VII.

THE AMERICAN FOUNDERS.

John Philip Boehm—George Michael Weiss.



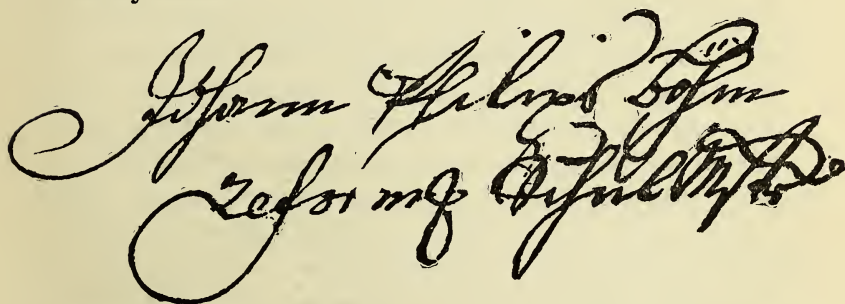
DURING the first quarter of the eighteenth century very little was done in behalf of the Reformed people of Pennsylvania. They were scattered in little settlements here and there, but they had neither churches nor pastors, and in some places their poverty was extreme. Many of them hoped against hope that ministers would be sent to

them from the fatherland, but for a long time they were disappointed. Some took their children to Philadelphia to be baptized by a Presbyterian pastor, Dr. Andrews; but a few were so greatly discouraged that they actually joined the Quakers.⁷¹ In some instances, we know, pious laymen gathered the people on the Lord's Day and read to them a printed sermon or an extract from some approved manual of devotion. These men, who were

⁷¹ Report of Synod of Dort, 1731.

known as "Readers," were often called to officiate at funerals, and some of them became fluent speakers, if not actual preachers. The practice was, after all, not very different from that which prevailed among their Mennonite neighbors.

In 1725 three little congregations requested their "Reader" to become their pastor, and thus to exercise all the functions of a Christian minister. The most important of these congregations was at Falkner Swamp, which is well known as one of the earliest German settlements in Pennsylvania. The other two were Skippack and White Marsh, which have already been mentioned in connection with the missionary labors of the Rev. Paulus Van Vlecq. The "Reader" who was thus invited to assume the pastoral office was John Philip Boehm, who, on account of his subsequent energy and devotion, deserves the foremost place among the pioneers of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania.



A large, elegant handwritten signature in black ink, reading "John Philip Boehm" on the top line and "Reformed Episcopal Church" on the bottom line. The script is highly decorative with long, flowing flourishes.

John Philip Boehm was born at Hochstadt, in Hanau, November 25, 1683. He was the son of a Reformed minister, the Rev. Philip Ludwig Boehm, who seems to have been a worthy but unfortunate man, for in his later years he was blind, and received a charitable stipend from the authorities of the church. Where the son was edu-

cated we have no means of knowing, but it is evident that he did not receive a university training. From 1708 to 1715 he was teacher of the parochial school of the Reformed congregation at Worms. Here he had a dispute with one of the officers of the church with respect to the fees of his office, and finally resigned the position, and became parochial teacher at Lambsheim, near Frankenthal. Here he also had troubles with regard to his perquisites and at last he also resigned this position and emigrated to America. In all these conflicts he seems to have been entirely in the right, and the utmost that can be said against him is that he may have been somewhat litigious.⁷² In a petition to the Church of Holland, dated in July, 1728, he is said to have been persecuted by the Roman Catholics, but though this is probable it cannot now be established by contemporary evidence.

When Boehm arrived in America he became a farmer; there is no evidence that he ever taught school on this side of the ocean. He seems to have resided first in Whitpain Township, Montgomery County, near the place where he subsequently founded the church which bears his name. Soon after his arrival he was called upon to lead the people in religious service, and his service was so acceptable that the best people in the community requested him to become their pastor. "He explained to them that according to the order of the Reformed Church he could not minister to them without ordination"; but they continued their appeals "protesting that he could not justify before God his refusal of so necessary a work." Among those who were most earnest in this matter was Henry Antes, known as "the pious Reformed man of Frederick Town-

⁷² For a full account of these conflicts see Dr. Good's "History."

ship," who subsequently came to differ widely from Boehm on subjects connected with the organization of the church.

That the call thus presented caused Boehm a great deal of trouble we can easily conceive. He was by nature closely attached to forms and precedents, and to assume the office of the ministry must have seemed to him like laying unhallowed hands upon the altar. On the other hand, the necessities of the case were undeniable. The people were "like sheep without a shepherd," and he alone was qualified to lead them in the right way; for though he had not received a thorough theological training he had so long been engaged in the service of the church, that he must have been convinced that he knew exactly how Reformed Churches ought to be conducted. The whole subject was to him in the profoundest sense a matter of conscience; but at last he determined to accept the call as coming from God, and proceeded to perform the duties of the pastoral office. On the 15th of October, 1725, he administered the communion at Falkner Swamp to fifty communicants; at Skippack in November to thirty-seven; and at White Marsh on the 23d of December to twenty-five.

When Boehm had accepted the pastorate of these churches, he proceeded to organize them as nearly as possible after the pattern of the fatherland. The congregational constitution which he prepared was adopted by his congregation and signed by the individual members. It was subsequently adopted by other churches, and became the model for other constitutions which differed from it in several minor particulars.⁷³ For about two years Boehm

⁷³ This constitution was submitted in 1728 to the Classis of Amsterdam and approved by that body. It was adopted by Coetus and published in 1748, and a copy is preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See *Mercersburg Review*, Oct., 1876, for a translation of these so-called "Reformed Church Ordinances."

was practically alone in his missionary work. Almost immediately he undertook extensive journeys to outlying settlements, and organized congregations wherever the way was open.

At first the labors of Boehm were confined to what may be called the eastern German settlements, in the region which is now included in the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Northampton, Lehigh and Berks. There was, however, a western district, which was in those

days regarded as remote and almost inaccessible. It was known as Conestoga, and comprised the part of Chester County lying west of the Octorara, though its limits were very vaguely defined. As early as 1718 there were in the latter district seventy German tax-payers, but soon afterwards the number was largely increased. In the eastern district many members of the Reformed Church had settled, but in Cones-



SPECIMEN OF JOHN PHIL BOEHM'S
ORNAMENTAL PENMANSHIP.

toga they were comparatively few in number. The majority then, as now, belonged to the Mennonites, Dunkers and minor German sects.

The earliest efforts for the establishment of the Reformed Church in Lancaster County appears to date from the year in which Boehm organized the church at Falkner Swamp. At first the devotions of the people in the western district were led by a pious tailor, named John Conrad Tempelman. Long afterwards, when this man had be-

come a regular pastor—he wrote a letter to the Synods of North and South Holland, dated February 13, 1733, in which he embodied his recollections of this early period. He says: “The church in Canastoka had its origin in the year 1725, with a small gathering in private houses, here and there, with the reading of a sermon, with singing and prayer, on all Sundays and holidays, but for want of ministers without the administration of Holy Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.” The people earnestly desired Tempelman to become their pastor, but he declined to assume the responsibility. At a later period he removed to what is now Lebanon County, and, having been regularly ordained, became the founder of a number of important churches.

When the Reformed people of Conestoga learned that Boehm had organized the churches of Philadelphia County, they invited him to perform the same work in their behalf, and he acceded to their request. In a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated January 14, 1739, he says: “This district of Conestoga is very extensive. The first congregation which was gathered here I call ‘Hill Church’ (Bergkirch); it is situated in the center. I served it according to their call to come to them twice a year; for the first time in the year 1727, on the 15th of October, and there were present 59 communicants, as this was the first time that a [Reformed?] communion service had been celebrated in the Cannestoga valley.”

The church which was organized on this occasion has been identified as Heller’s Church, about six miles east of the city of Lancaster.

The work which Boehm had begun soon met with serious disturbance. On the 21st of September, 1727, Rev. George Michael Weiss arrived in America, in the ship *William and Sarah*, with a company of four hundred immigrants.

That he was the appointed leader of these people is explicitly stated in a report published in 1731 by the Synod of Dort.⁷⁴ He had been "qualified by the Palatinate Consistory," and was therefore an ordained minister at the time of his arrival.

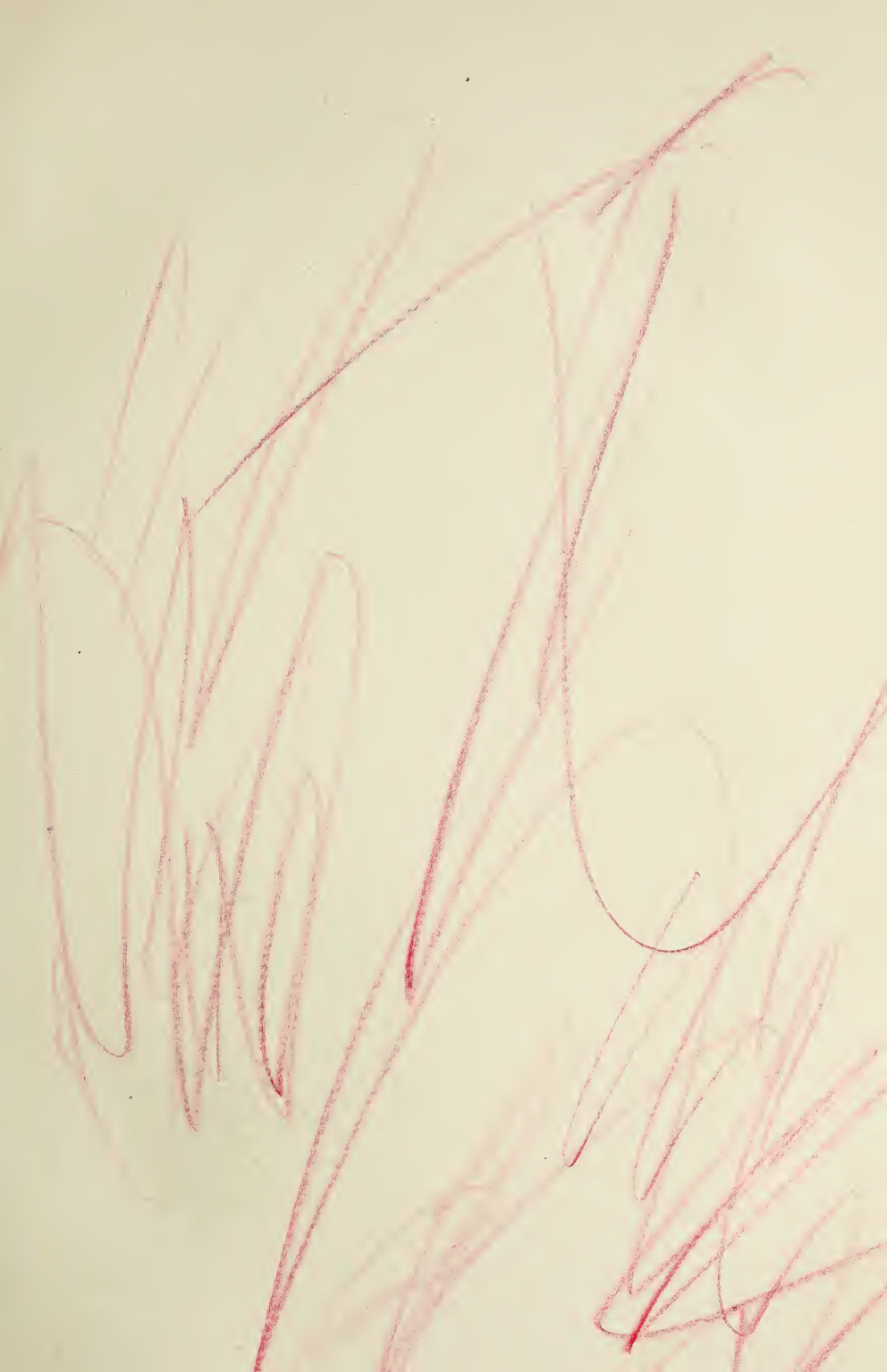
Weiss was a vigorous young man and was disposed to magnify his office. When he found that Boehm was performing ministerial acts without ordination, he protested with word and deed. He entered without permission into Boehm's congregations, and warned the people against such irregular conduct. In Conestoga, for instance, almost immediately after his arrival, Weiss "administered the communion to some who had come over the sea with him." Boehm says: "He drew the people over to him, but left them soon afterwards." He even went so far as to summon Boehm to appear to answer for disorderly conduct before the English Presbytery of Philadelphia, which had, of course, no authority in the premises.⁷⁵

In the meantime, however, Boehm and his friends had not been idle. Recognizing the irregularity of Mr. Boehm's ministry they appealed to the Dutch ministers of New York to remove the ground for dissension by granting him regular ordination. As these ministers were unwilling to assume so great a responsibility without authority from the fatherland a petition was, in July, 1728, addressed to the Classis

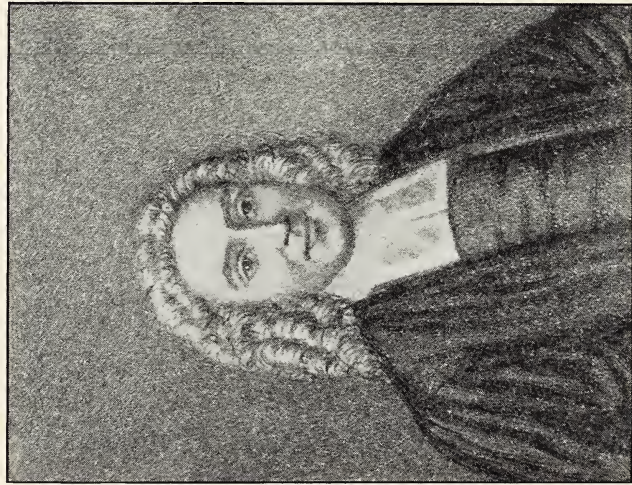
⁷⁴ See Professor Hinkes' article in "The Perkiomen Region" for Sept., 1900.

⁷⁵ George Michael Weiss was a native of the Palatinate. His baptism took place at Eppingen, Jan. 23, 1700, but the "Chronicon Ephratense" says he was born at Stebbach—a place only two or three miles from Eppingen (Dr. Good's "History," p. 113). Perhaps it is safest to assume that he was born in Eppingen, where his family resided, though it is hard to suppose that John Peter Miller, of Ephrata, could have been wrong in such a matter especially when he was certainly so nearly right.

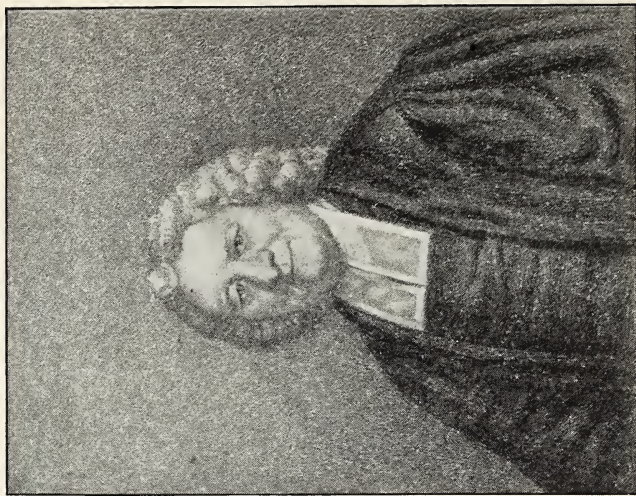
Weiss was educated at Heidelberg, ordained by the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate, and commissioned to serve the church in America. Unfortunately the minutes of the "Consistorium" appear to be lost.



THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



HENRICUS BOLL.



GUALTERIUS DUBOIS.

of Amsterdam, asking permission to perform the rite. This permission having in due time been granted, the Dutch dominies no longer hesitated, and it was resolved that Boehm should be ordained in the Reformed Church of New York. On his journey thither Boehm was accompanied by Frederick Antes, of Falkner Swamp, Gabriel Schuler, of Skippack, and William DeWees, of White Marsh. The service of ordination was held on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 23, 1729, and was conducted by the Rev. Henricus Boel and the Rev. Gualterius DuBois.⁷⁶ On the day following Weiss, who was present on this occasion, formally withdrew his objections to Boehm's ministry and the two German pioneers were formally reconciled. They even signed an agreement, of which one of the articles read as follows: "That Do. Weiss recognizes Do. Boehm for the lawful, ordained, regular minister of the three aforesaid congregations; that Do. Weiss will stay away from Schipback, and will declare to the congregations that he leaves that and the other two congregations entirely to Do. Boehm as their lawful minister that he may pursue his work in peace among the three."⁷⁷

In the meantime Weiss had been actively engaged in the work of the ministry. Before the close of the year 1727, he had organized a congregation in Philadelphia. The elders then chosen were Piter Lecolie,⁷⁸ John William Roerig, Henry Weller and George Peter Hillegass. It may seem strange that we have no record of an earlier organization in Philadelphia where many Reformed people had settled at an earlier date. Boehm, we know, had oc-

⁷⁶ Dr. Good mentions Autonides, of Long Island, as the third officiating clergyman.

⁷⁷ See Dotterer's monograph on Boehm, p. 4.

⁷⁸ Lecolie seems to have been a merchant, and his name frequently appears in contemporary documents. From the fact that he wrote his Christian name "Piter" we conclude that he was in all probability a Walloon.

casionally preached there before the arrival of Weiss, but his work appears to have been merely preliminary. At any rate we have no knowledge of an earlier congregation than the one which Weiss established; and here he

*Philadelphia April 16th 1727 Mon. Evng 2^d Janes
 Bingham full of all accounts whatsoevr. Excepting
 10th pound Sixteen Shilling Six pence
 Peter Leodie*

preached for several years, serving at the same time the congregations in Germantown and Goshenhoppen, besides preaching for some time to the party which had separated from Boehm's congregation in Skippack. He also made occasional missionary excursions to outlying congregations. In 1729 he published a pamphlet directed against a fanatical sect, the 'New Born' of Oley.⁷⁹ In 1730 he advertised that he was "willing to teach logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, etc., to all who were willing to learn." His congregations were very poor, and in this way he may have eked out his living.

Weiss did not long continue in the pastorate of his churches. In the spring of 1730 Jacob Reiff, of Skippack, undertook a journey to Europe, and Weiss determined to accompany him. Reiff had been in Europe before,⁸⁰ and his visit had resulted in awakening an interest in the German churches of America. What could be more

⁷⁹ "Der in der Amerikanischen Wildnüss," etc. A copy of this unique pamphlet was discovered by Professor Hinke in the National Library at Washington.

⁸⁰ In 1727 when he presented a petition for relief from the congregation of Skippack and Philadelphia to the authorities of the Church in Holland. This is held to be the first occasion when the Churches of Pennsylvania corresponded with the Church of Holland.

natural than that these churches should embrace the opportunity to solicit contributions from their brethren in the fatherland?

Reiff appears to have been a typical Pennsylvania German of his time. Though uneducated he was enterprising and had successfully managed a number of rustic enterprises. Dr. Weiser has preserved a tradition that the people nicknamed him "Ah so" (*Auch so* or Just so), because he was in the habit of agreeing with those with whom he conversed. In the controversy at Skippack he had been the chief supporter of Weiss, and had built for him a little church on his own land. There were debts on this church, and it is probable that this fact was not without its influence in inducing Reiff to act as financial agent for the Pennsylvania churches. On the 19th of May, 1730, the consistories of the churches in Philadelphia and Skippack granted him a power of attorney, of which a contemporary copy is preserved at Lancaster. In this document Reiff is given authority, in case Weiss should determine to remain in Germany, to bring another minister from Heidelberg to supply the Pennsylvania churches.

We shall not attempt to relate the incidents of that unfortunate expedition. The story has often been told, and it must be confessed⁸¹ that it is not pleasant reading. It relates the common experience of several American denominations. The churches of the fatherland proved themselves liberal, but a large part of their contributions never reached their proper destination. Weiss collected a considerable sum, but handed it over to Reiff, and thus freed himself from financial responsibility. Reiff was careless and kept no proper accounts; but he finally confessed that

⁸¹ "Papers in the Reiff Cases," *Reformed Church Review*, 1893, p. 68; "History of the Reiff Case," by Prof. Wm. J. Hinke; Dotterer's "Hist. Notes," p. 133.

he had received something more than 2,000 florins. It must, however, be remembered that out of this sum the traveling expenses of two men had to be paid, so that the amount must have been considerably diminished. Finally Reiff invested the proceeds of his mission in goods which it was supposed could be sold in America at a profit; but, in consequence of a series of accidents,⁸² he was compelled to set sail without them, and they were retained in an English custom-house for non-payment of duty. Reiff claimed that his purpose in making this investment was to advance the interests of the churches; but it is now plain that it was a speculation in which he was encouraged by men who were willing to repudiate the whole business when it proved unsuccessful.

Weiss returned to America in 1731. He came by way of Maryland and remained but a short time in Philadelphia. He then removed to New York, where he labored as pastor at Burnetsfield, Rhinebeck, etc., until 1746. Dr. Good suggests, that, though not personally responsible for the results of Reiff's mission, "coming events cast their shadows before," and that on his removal to New York he was not unwilling to escape from a gathering storm by seeking a residence in another province. However this may have been, it is certain that he did excellent work in his new field. He kept up his correspondence with the Church of Holland, and published a book on the characteristics of the American aborigines.

When Reiff returned to America he took the most imprudent course that could possibly have been suggested. The people had gained the impression that the sum was very great, and could never be convinced that the contrary was actually the case. Instead of presenting his account,

⁸² Related at length in his answer to the Court of Chancery.

and patiently submitting to such criticisms as might be offered, he declined to make settlement, though formally requested to do so. The result was much correspondence and protracted litigation. The Skippack congregation had apparently little to say—for there Reiff and his relatives were in control—but the church in Philadelphia took up the matter and would not let it rest. Though the mission had been undertaken solely in behalf of the churches of Philadelphia and Skippack, other congregations in some way conceived the idea that they were deprived of their dues.⁸³ On the 23d of November, 1732, the consistory of the church of Philadelphia appeared before Governor Patrick Gordon, in the Court of Chancery, and lodged a complaint and petition, in which they gave a full account of the case. From this document and from Reiff's answer—both of which are preserved among the papers collected by Dr. Harbaugh—many interesting facts concerning the early history of the church of Philadelphia have been gathered. The authorities of the Church in Holland were naturally greatly interested in the prosecution of the case; and as the original subscription had disappeared they made up the account, as best they could, from such documents as were in their possession. In the petition in chancery the amount of the collection is stated as “two thousand one hundred and ninety-seven guilders, amounting to three hundred and two pounds sterling money of Great Britain.” The Court of Chancery has, however, always been proverbial for its delays, and there the case lingered until after the arrival of Schlatter,⁸⁴ who finally

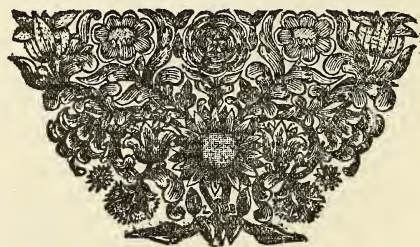
⁸³ Saur stated in his paper that the collection had been made in behalf of the Reformed Churches of Philadelphia, Skippack and Germantown. So far as Germantown was concerned this statement was, of course, erroneous.

⁸⁴ Among the papers in the case is a curious letter in English, dated April 2, 1739, from the celebrated Prof. John Frederick Gronovius to the Hon. James Logan, enclosing, with a translation, a letter from the Rev. Ernest Engelbert Pröbsting, urging the speedy settlement of the Reiff affair by legal process.

succeeded in effecting a settlement, at the same time signing a paper in which he professed his confidence in Reiff's integrity.

In 1746 Weiss returned to Pennsylvania and assumed the pastorate of the Goshenhoppen charge, consisting of the congregations at Old Goshenhoppen, New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp. His removal from New York is said to have been induced by a threatening Indian invasion. In Pennsylvania he labored faithfully and was highly respected. That he took a profound interest in the general affairs of the church will be seen hereafter. He died in August, 1761, and was buried at New Goshenhoppen, where a suitable memorial marks his grave.

Boehm was fortunately not implicated in the Reiff affair, though he was naturally interested in its developments and frequently referred to it in his correspondence with Holland. In missionary work he was untiring; and he founded many congregations, which were kept alive by his occasional visits, waiting for better days. More than to any other individual the founding and preservation of the Reformed Churches in Pennsylvania in this gloomy time is due to the self-sacrificing devotion of John Philip Boehm.





CHAPTER VIII.

A PERIOD OF CONFUSION.

Dorsius—Peter Miller—Rieger—The Goetschius Family.



THE founding of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, as we have seen, was attended by peculiar difficulties. Natives of many countries, there seemed to be hardly a tie to unite the early settlers. Pennsylvania was in those days known as "the land of sects," and the isolated German was drawn hither and thither by contending religious factions. That a remnant re-

mained faithful to the teachings of this youth is certainly marvelous. Not only where Boehm and Weiss had preached, but here and there, in out of the way places, congregations were founded. Sometimes a devout layman was chosen to conduct religious services, or a local schoolmaster was induced to read sermons on the Lord's day. The conditions were even more depressing when there was no one

at hand to assume this responsibility, and the young churches became the prey of worthless vagabonds, "whose only claim to the ministry," says Dr. Harbaugh, "was the possession of a black coat." Many of these pretenders had in the fatherland been schoolmasters or minor officials who had lost their positions for some delinquency, and had at last found their way to America, where they wandered about suffering from a thirst that was unquenchable.

It was only too easy for such fellows to commit to memory a sermon or two, and to preach wherever they were permitted to take up a collection. They rarely remained long in a single place, and the people called them *Herumläufer* or *Landläufer*. In the Holland correspondence they are called in Dutch *landlopers* or simply *lopers*. For half a century at least, these loafers were the scourge of the American churches, and there are instances of their appearance at a much more recent day.

In the third decade of the eighteenth century regular ministers, however, began to become more numerous, bringing with them the promise of better things. A few of these men—who were either ordained in Europe or received the rite after their arrival in this country—may at least be mentioned in this connection.

PETER HENRY DORSIUS⁸⁵ was pastor of the Dutch church at Neshaminy, but could preach German and occasionally visited the German churches. As early as 1730 the people of Neshaminy had written to Holland for a pastor, and at this time Dorsius was named for the position; but as he had not finished his studies he was suffered to remain for some years at the universities of Groningen and Leyden, receiving in the meantime some aid from the

⁸⁵ The name is often written Dorstius.

Church in America.⁸⁶ He arrived in Philadelphia, October 5, 1737, and remained pastor of the Neshaminy charge from that date until 1748.⁸⁷ In 1738 he was requested to reply to a number of questions concerning the religious condition of Pennsylvania, and to these, with the assistance of Boehm, he prepared replies. At this time he assumed the title of "Inspector," which was peculiarly offensive to Boehm.⁸⁸

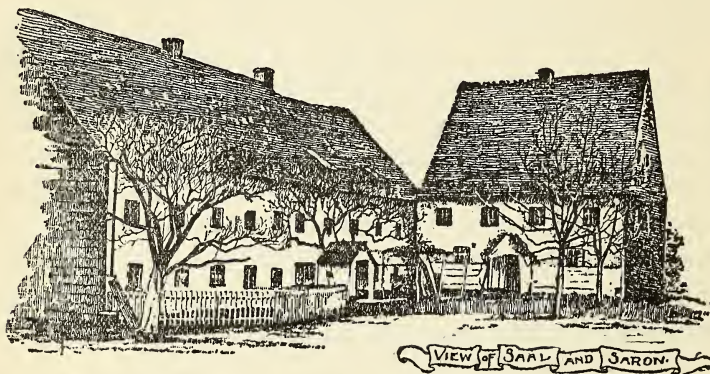
That Dorsius was a man of learning is not doubted. He instructed a number of young men, and irregularly ordained several of them. In 1743 he was made the bearer of a letter from the Church in Holland to the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, inquiring whether it would not be possible to consolidate the Presbyterian, Reformed Dutch, and German Reformed Churches in America into a single body. In their reply, the Presbyterians tacitly declined to enter into such a union, but declared their willingness to join with the Reformed "to assist each other as far as possible, in promoting the common interests of religion." When Schlatter arrived in America, Dorsius received him kindly, but did not attend the first meeting of Coetus, though he sent a letter of sympathy. The fact is that he was becoming intemperate, and the affairs of his congregation were in a bad condition. Finally, he left his wife—a daughter

⁸⁶ According to the records at Leyden he was a native of Meurs (Mörs) in Rhenish Prussia. He was matriculated at Groningen in 1734 and at Leyden in 1736; licensed and ordained in Holland in 1737. Vide Dr. Good's "History," pp. 190-199.

⁸⁷ He was accompanied to America by a student for the ministry, named Van Basten, who preached in Pennsylvania. Corwin says, on the authority of Riker's "Annals of Newtown," that Van Basten preached at Newtown and other places in 1739-'40. He adds: "It is doubtful if he was ever settled."

⁸⁸ On the 23d of September, 1740, he preached at Lower Sanson, and there baptized three children belonging to the Egypt Church. On the record of the latter church he is styled "Herr Inspector Peter Heinrich Torschius." Harbaugh misread the name and rendered it Torsihius, which form erroneously appears in several necrologies.

of Derrick Hogeland, of Bucks County—and in 1748, returned to Holland. There are traces of him in that country as late as 1750, but then he disappears. For many years the Coetus made contributions for the relief of his wife or widow. The light of Dorsius appears to have been quenched in utter darkness.



JOHN PETER MILLER arrived in Philadelphia in the ship *Thistle* of Glasgow and took the oath of allegiance, August 29, 1730.⁸⁹ The remarkable history of this eminent man has been so frequently related that it is hardly necessary to consider it with minuteness.⁹⁰ He was born at Alsenborn, in the Palatinate, in 1710, but the exact date appears to be unknown. His father was a Reformed minister in the district of Kaiserslautern. The son was educated at Heidelberg, and undoubtedly became a man of learning. What

⁸⁹ In the list published in the Pennsylvania Archives, 2d series, vol. 17, the name appears as "Peter Moller." This, however, may have been a blunder by the same clerk who wrote the name of George Michael Weiss as "Hans Jerrick Swaess."

⁹⁰ See "Chronicon Ephratense," 1786. English translation by Rev. J. Max Hark, Lancaster, 1889. Also particularly Sachse's "German Sectarians of Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1900.

induced him to come to America is not definitely known, but the "Chronicon Ephratense" tells us that he followed Weiss. Before his departure from Germany he had been licensed to preach, but had not been ordained.⁹¹ He was ordained soon after his arrival by the Presbyterian presby-

Your Excellency's

most humble Friend

Peter Miller

FROM LETTER TO BENJ. FRANKLIN.

tery of Philadelphia. For several months he supplied the Reformed Church of Philadelphia, and also preached at Skippack. Then in 1731, he became pastor of the Tulpehocken charge, for which Boehm had previously preached at long intervals.⁹²

⁹¹ Dr. Good suggests that he can hardly have been sent by the Palatine Consistory, as they would certainly have ordained him before sending him.

⁹² Professor Hinke says, *Reformed Church Record*, January 11, 1900: "He also took the Conestoga congregation away from Boehm, who says in his report of 1739: 'After this Miller went there to continue the work of Weiss, and at the same time he also won Tulpehocken.' It was during the ministry of John Peter Miller that Tempelman sent his letter to the Synods of North and South Holland, dated Feb. 13, 1733. In it he describes the condition of the Reformed at that time as follows: 'The congregation in the Chanastoka, by reason of its growth and the great distances between the members, has been divided into six preaching places. Three of these places are served by a Reformed minister, John Peter Miller, by whom also another strong congregation is served about 7 hours (20 miles) distant, called Tulpehocken. But now on account of the division of the congregation they can no longer be served by Do. Boehm nor by the above named Miller, because of the great distance of the different places one from the other, as also of his increased activity and the heavy labor resting upon him.' Tempelman further says that 'the three meeting places of the Reformed are scattered over a district of 7 hours (20

For about four years Miller served his congregation,⁹³ and during this time built a church at Tulpehocken.⁹⁴ Then came the visit of "the magician of the Conestoga,"

Conrad Weiss
Interpreter

Conrad Beissel,⁹⁵ which resulted in the conversion to the Seventh Day Baptists of Miller and ten Reformed and Lutheran families. Among these converts was Conrad

miles) long and 7 hours wide.' Of the three places served by Miller he can give no report."

Professor Hinke provisionally identifies the above three congregations, besides "Conestoga," served by Miller, as Zeltenreich, near New Holland, Reyers (Brickville) and perhaps Muddy Creek. He suggests that the latter, at least, may have been a mere preaching-place, and that the regular organization must be ascribed to a later date.

⁹³ This at least is the time generally given, though there are indications that he had become partially alienated from the Reformed Church a little earlier. Boehm says in his report to the Synods, dated October 18, 1734: "At present there is only one other (Reformed) minister in this Province, Peter Miller. When he could not convince people of his views, he gave up his service altogether and is now an *Olypersser*. How he tried to mislead the people can be clearly seen from this, not to mention other things, that about two years ago he went with one of his elders, whom he had installed at Goshenhoppen, into a house of a Seventh Day Baptist, where he allowed himself to be called brother, and permitted the man to wash his feet." The word *Olypersser*, as used by Boehm, is somewhat obscure; but from my Dutch dictionary I make it out to mean "oil-miller." If this interpretation is correct it would seem to indicate that after Miller had practically retired from the ministry he made his living for some time by conducting an oil-mill.

⁹⁴ "Chronicon Ephratense," English version, p. 72.

⁹⁵ Conrad Beissel, called "Friedsam," was born at Eberbach in the Palatinate in 1690 and died at Ephrata, Pa., July 6, 1768. As founder and leader of the "Order of the Solitary," the history of this remarkable mystic has proved fascinating to many writers, so that it is not necessary to relate its details. See, especially, "German Sectarians of Pennsylvania," by Mr. Sachse.

Weiser, the most prominent man in all that region, who became a member of the brotherhood at Ephrata, but afterwards withdrew.⁹⁶ Boehm informs us that Miller "was baptized in Dunker fashion at Conestoga, April, 1735."

For more than sixty years Miller observed the rule of the Order of the Solitary. He was dressed in a gown of rough material, and at night slept on a bench, with no pillow but a wooden billet. Though he was vastly more learned than Conrad Beissel he remained to the last his obedient disci-



AN ORNATE EPHRATA INITIAL.

ple. Assuming the monastic name of "Brother Jaebez,"⁹⁷ he became in time the leading spirit in the community, and after the death of the founder was its recognized leader.

⁹⁶ In a previous publication the author has referred to Conrad Weiser as a Lutheran elder.—"American Church History" series, vol. 8, p. 262. Mr. Sachse has, however, made it plain that he was at this time "the chief elder of the Tulpehocken Reformed congregation."—"German Sectarrians of Pennsylvania," vol. 2, p. 277. He was also at a later date an officer of the Reformed Church of Reading. Nevertheless as Weiser was born in the Lutheran Church and finally returned to it, he is properly regarded as a Lutheran.

⁹⁷ Like others of the brotherhood, he occasionally used an *alias*. Sometimes he called himself "Peter the Hermit," and he was undoubtedly "Agrippa," who appears as one of the authors of the "Chronicon Ephratense."

Many hymns in the Ephrata collections were written by him, and he translated from Dutch into German a large part of the Martyr-book, published at Ephrata, which was by far the largest publication issued in America during the colonial period.

Soon after his baptism Beissel urged Miller "to again take service in the mother church, because he had now by baptism received the power lacking for the office."⁹⁸ Miller was, however, so fully enamored of the celibate life that he refused to leave the cloister, and declared that he would never be a teacher (*i. e.*, preacher) again.

After Beissel's death the brotherhood began to decline, and before Miller's death it was evident that the end could not be far distant.⁹⁹ He was, however, comforted by the assurance, once given him by "Father Friedsam," that, in one form or another, the work at Ephrata would abide until the second coming of the Lord.

On a book-label in possession of the author appears a stanza, evidently composed in his later years, which fully expresses his sentiments concerning life and death.

The above stanza the present writer has ventured to translate :

⁹⁸ Letter of Miller to Peter Lehman, Aug. 28, 1788.

⁹⁹ In the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, 1784, appears a letter from Ephrata, signed K., giving a somewhat discouraging account of the status of the brotherhood. The following paragraph may be interesting, especially as its correctness is attested by the prior himself: "Peter Miller, the only educated man (in the society) studied in Heidelberg and was authorized to preach but not to baptize. With thirty guldens in his pocket he left his father. Afterwards he preached in this country, and at the request of a German country congregation was ordained by the Presbyterian clergy of Philadelphia. After four years he resigned his congregation, was converted, baptized others and was himself baptized; and six months after the organization of this society he joined it. Previously he had lived as a hermit." At the end of the letter appears the following certificate: "I, Brother Jaebez, otherwise called Peter Miller, prior of the convent at Ephrata, Lancaster County, hereby certify that this article, written by Mr. K., is in accordance with the truth and written with Christian modesty." Vid. "Der Deutsche Pionier," vol. 13, p. 13.

PETRUS-HERMIT,

Voll Kreuz und Trübsal ist der Weg,
Darauf ich hier muß gehen,
Und leiden viel geheime Schläg,
Das macht oft bittere Wehen;
Doch wann zu end der lange Kampf u. streit,
So geh ich ein zur stillen Ewigkeit.

1 7 9 1.

"The path I journey here below
Is full of grief and sorrow ;
I suffer many a secret blow,
And grievous pains I borrow ;
But when the war and conflict's o'er,
I'll rest in peace for evermore."

Another book-label in possession of the writer bears the simple inscription :

Bruder Jaebez

Ephrata, 178-

Peter Miller lived the life of a mediæval saint, and was highly esteemed even by those who entertained different religious opinions. He died at Ephrata, September 25, 1796.

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW RIEGER,¹⁰⁰ an ordained minister, arrived in Philadelphia one year later than Miller, and took the oath of allegiance on the 21st of September, 1731. He had been educated at Heidelberg and Basel, and was no doubt a well-educated man. That he was commissioned for the American work by the authorities of the church of

the Palatinate appears to be certain, and he has even been called "the leader of a colony." He does not, however, appear to have been fully alive to the importance of his mission and his efforts were not as successful as might have been expected. For several years he was pastor in Philadelphia, then he was for some time at Amwell and in 1739 accepted the pastorate of the Reformed Church



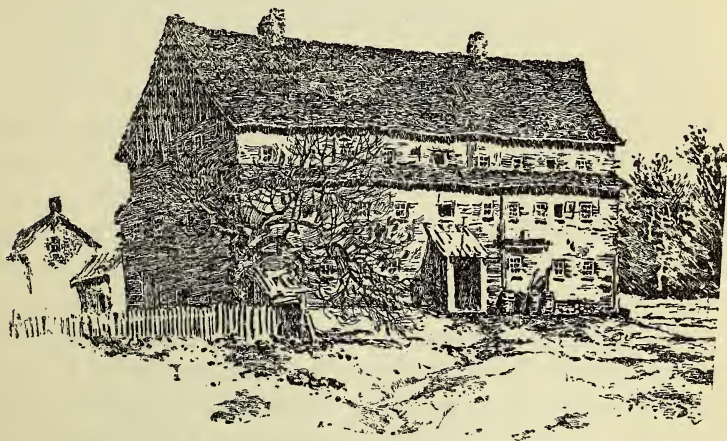
HAMILTON ARMS OF LANCASTER.

of Lancaster, Pa., where his brother, Jacob Frederick, had in the meantime settled as a physician.

The Reformed Church of Lancaster was evidently organized not long after 1730, when the town was founded. In 1733 it is mentioned by Tempelman as already existing, and situated within what he calls Boehm's district. Its earliest members had been members of the Conestoga or "Hill" Church to which we have referred. Boehm, however, did not highly regard the Lancaster congrega-

¹⁰⁰ According to the inscription on his tombstone Rieger was born at Oberingelheim in the Palatinate, January 10, 1707. The church record in his native town gives the date of his birth as January 23, of the same year. He died, March 11, 1769, and lies buried in the rear of the First Reformed Church of Lancaster, Pa.

tion on account of its independent manner of proceeding, and there is no evidence that he ever preached there. The extant records of the church begin with an entry concerning the building, which is there translated: "Now as regards the building of our church the beginning was made in the year 1736, and by the help of God it was so far completed that on the 20th of June, Whitsunday, divine worship was held in it for the first time. The reverend and pious John Jacob Hock was called as the regular pastor." Hock had previously been a ruling elder in the congregation, who was chosen to the ministry by the people, somewhat as Boehm had been called at the begin-



THE OLD BROTHER HOUSE.

ning of his work. There is no important information concerning Hock's pastorate—except that he also preached at Bethany, near Ephrata—and in less than two years his name disappears from the records. It is possible that, as soon as a regular minister could be secured, he retired to private life.

After serving the Lancaster church and several neigh-

boring congregations for four years Rieger took it into his head to go to Europe to study medicine. He does not seem to have contemplated retiring from the ministry, for on the 5th of November, 1743, he appeared before the classis of Amsterdam and gave them an account of Pennsylvania.¹⁰¹ In March, 1744, he was matriculated at Leyden as a student of medicine, and seems to have remained there about a year.

It is known that before his departure for Europe he had become unpopular in Lancaster, and it has been assumed that this was due to his intimate relations with the Moravians. That there were other reasons for his unpopularity is, however, sufficiently evident. He was full of strange notions, refusing to baptize children, and publicly teaching that men could be saved in any religion.¹⁰² It will be remembered that at one time Conrad Beissel expected to gain him for his sect; and that when he heard of his marriage he exclaimed, "O, Lord, Thou sufferest them to spoil in one's very hands!"¹⁰³

It is doubtful, however, whether under the most favorable circumstances Rieger could have been transformed into a monk. He could take up any new religious movement with great enthusiasm; but it was not long before he grew weary. In later years he devoted most of his time to the practice of medicine; and a letter to Europe even intimates that on ordinary occasions he was skeptical, but became thoroughly orthodox as soon as he learned that a donation from Holland was on the way. In addition to all this, it is easy to conclude from his occasional contributions to Saur's paper, that he was pompous and pretentious—fond of using Greek and Latin phrases—and that

¹⁰¹ Good's "History," p. 169.

¹⁰² *Wilhelmi's Report to the Deputies*, 1745.

¹⁰³ "*Chronicon Ephratense*," p. 71.

he sought to impress the laity by assuming all the dignity and state of the traditional *Herr Pfarrer*.

When Rieger returned to America in 1745¹⁰⁴ he began to practice medicine in Lancaster, but was also desirous of resuming his pastorate of the Reformed Church of that place. The position had, however, in the same year been occupied by Caspar Ludwig Schnorr, who had been a pastor in Zweibrücken, but had rested under a cloud before he left his fatherland. He had appealed for aid to the Church of Holland, but his petition was not granted. In Lancaster he did not do well, and if Saur's statements concerning him are true he was utterly unworthy of his office. He remained but two years in Lancaster, and then went to Esopus, in Ulster County, New York, where we lose sight of him.

That the Lancaster congregation did not immediately discharge Schnorr and call Rieger, must have been deeply humiliating to the latter who had just returned from his European excursion. There was a violent conflict between the two men; but even after Schnorr had been removed the congregation did not call Rieger. Then he devoted himself chiefly to medical practice, but at the same time preached at Zeldenreich ("Erlentown") and at Schaeffers-town, in Lebanon County. He made frequent efforts to regain the pastorate of the church in Lancaster, but the people would not have him as a pastor, though they recognized his ability as a medical practitioner. An extant letter conveys the impression that he did not devote much attention to his theological studies.

When Schlatter arrived in America, Rieger was for a time

¹⁰⁴ In the same year he visited Zubly in South Carolina. This appears from a *votum* in the album of the latter, dated "Charlestown, Feb. 6, 1745." On the same page he styles himself "V. D. M. in Lancaster in Pennsylvania." Possibly he returned to America by the southern route.

roused to new activity. The deputies had actually written to him, requesting him to assist in the work of organization, and for a time he did his best. In consequence of a scandal connected with his medical practice,¹⁰⁵ he was in 1762 suspended from the ministry, but he appealed to Holland and the case seems never to have been finally decided.¹⁰⁶

In 1735 occurred an episode which may serve to illustrate the prevailing confusion. It has long been regarded



ORNATE EPHRATA INITIAL.

as peculiarly obscure; but thanks to recent investigations in Holland the outlines of the story may now be read. To relate it so as to make clear the causes of earlier misconceptions is, even now, by no means an easy matter.

On the title page of the earliest records of at least four of the oldest Reformed churches—New Goshenhoppen, Great Swamp, Bern and Egypt—under the name of the

¹⁰⁵ He was accused of giving a certificate to the effect that a certain man had died of fever, when it was generally believed that death had resulted from violence at the hands of a person whom the physician desired to screen from the consequences of his act.

¹⁰⁶ Socially the Rieger family were prominent in the early history of Lancaster, and their names frequently appear in contemporary records. They are best remembered in connection with the unfortunate duel in which Stephen Chambers was killed, in 1789, by Dr. Jacob Rieger, a nephew of the minister.

congregation appears the signature of JOH. HENRICUS GOETSCHUIS, VDM, *Helvetico-Tigurinus*. In each instance there is a brief preface in his autograph, relating the purpose of the volume, and several brief sentences in more or less doubtful Greek and Latin are in two of these records attached to the signature. The title page of the New Goshenhoppen record has no date, but the very next leaf bears an entry of the baptism, in August, 1731, of Elizabeth, a daughter of Philip Lapaar. The inscription in the record of the Egypt Church—there called “the church on the Lehigh”—bears a date, but its last figure is badly blurred. It looks like 1733, and as the baptism on the next page bears this date the accuracy of the reading was until recently never questioned. The Great Swamp record is dated April 24, 1736.

It has long been known that a family named Goetschius,¹⁰⁷ including a son named J. Henry, arrived in Philadelphia May 29, 1735;¹⁰⁸ and this arrival was in some way connected with the well-known migration of Pastor Moritz Goetschius, of Saletz,¹⁰⁹ but the dates did not harmonize with those given above, and there were all sorts of suggestions for the removal of difficulties. At last it came to be assumed that there were two ministers named John Henry Goetschius, one of whom was the founder of German churches in Pennsylvania; and that the other—a younger man—after preaching a few years in Pennsylvania became a very prominent minister in the Reformed Dutch Church of New Jersey and New York.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ The name is variously written Goetschius, Goetschy, Goetschiey and Goetschie. As every signature I have seen, both in this country and Europe, is written Goetschius, I have accepted this form, on the principle that a man ought to be the best judge of the orthography of his name.

¹⁰⁸ Rupp's "Collection of Names," p. 99.

¹⁰⁹ Löher's "Die Deutschen in Amerika," Cincinnati, 1847.

¹¹⁰ Corwin's "Manual of the Reformed Church in America," p. 282.

It now turns out, as the result of European researches, that all our early writers have been mistaken, and that there was actually but one minister named John Henry Goetschius. The elder "John Henry" is actually what historians have called "a ghost-name";¹¹¹ that is, a name which had no corresponding reality. How such an error came to be made can be made plain only by relating a somewhat extensive history.

The Rev. Moritz Goetschius (1686-1735) had been minister at Saletz, in the canton of Zurich, Switzerland. He was an eminent scholar, especially in oriental languages, so that he made use of them in his daily lessons to his family.¹¹² In 1731 he was deposed from the ministry, but the people remained attached to him, and even men who were eminent in the Church manifested a disposition to show him kindness.¹¹³ As the circumstances of the case are not minutely known, it may reasonably be supposed that the people believed that he had suffered injustice. Active and energetic, he proceeded to organize a "colony" to go to the Carolinas, and in this work he was unusually successful. On October 4, 1734, he left Zurich with a company numbering, it is said, four hundred persons, taking with him his wife and eight children. The eldest daughter, Anna, was married at Neu Wied to John Conrad Wirtz (or Wuertz), a *candidatus* from Zurich who was in the party, and who subsequently became a minister in Pennsylvania.

¹¹¹ There are other "ghost-names" in our early history. There never was a Reformed minister in America named Dillenberger, but the Rev. John Jacob Wissler added *Dillenberga-Nassauicus* to his name to indicate that he was a native of Nassau-Dillenberg. Some early investigator misread the name as J. J. W. Dillenberger of Nassau; and though the correction has frequently been made, the phantom manifests a constant tendency to reappear.

¹¹² Good's "History," p. 173.

¹¹³ Letter of Dr. Escher, of Zurich, to the author, Feb. 2, 1892.

The journey from Zurich to Rotterdam was accompanied by many privations, and many of the company turned back before they reached Holland.¹¹⁴ At the Hague Goetschius fortunately met a Mr. von Felsen, who persuaded him to change his destination from Carolina to Pennsylvania, and through his influence the Dutch government made Goetschius a donation of 2,000 guilders, with the particular object of securing a trustworthy account of the condition of the churches in Pennsylvania. In a letter, appealing for the necessary credentials from Switzerland, dated November 26, 1734, Goetschius stated that he was to be superintendent of the whole church in Pennsylvania, and that his income was to be 2,000 thalers until the people could themselves provide for his support; but it must be remembered that this pleasant story was told for the edification of friends at home. At the same time Henry Goetschius—a son of the Reverend Moritz, only 16 or 17 years old—wrote to Switzerland that Mr. von Felsen had promised that, in case the testimonials from Zurich should result favorably to his father, he (Henry) should finish his studies at the University at Leyden at the public expense, and that he should be sent as future successor to his father.¹¹⁵ The credentials, it is said, did not arrive in Holland until Goetschius had sailed for America, and, though giving him credit for extraordinary learning, were not otherwise quite as favorable as had been anticipated.

¹¹⁴ One of the disheartened members of the colony on his return to Zurich published a pamphlet giving a full account of this eventful journey. It was entitled: *Der Hinckende Bote von Carolina. Oder Ludwig Webers von Wallissellen Beschreibung seiner Reise von Zürich gen Rotterdam, mit derjenigen Gesellschaft welche neulich aus dem Schweizerland in Carolinam zu ziehen gedachte. Zürich, bey Joh. Jacob Lindinner, MDCCXXXV.*

Weber's story, which is very interesting, is translated in Dotterer's "Historical Notes," and its substance is reproduced in Good's "History."

¹¹⁵ Dotterer's "Historical Notes," p. 183.

The ship *Mercury* sailed from Rotterdam in February, 1735, and arrived in Philadelphia in May. It had been a horrible voyage and the passengers had suffered greatly. According to the Penna. Archives, Vol. XVII., the Goetschius family appeared to be qualified with the other passengers on the 29th of May, but the father, Moritz Goetschius, was not in the number. He had been very ill; but on the arrival of the vessel the elders of the Reformed Church of Philadelphia came on board, greeted him with enthusiasm and recognized him as the pastor of their church. Summoning all his strength he accompanied them on shore, but immediately his strength failed, and he had to be carried to a house where in a few minutes he died.

A letter preserved in Zurich gives a full account of this melancholy event. It was written by John Henry Goetschius, who was then but seventeen years old. The people of Philadelphia had manifested great sympathy for the afflicted family, and the father had been "buried in the churchyard of the principal Presbyterian Church, with elaborate ceremonies."¹¹⁶ The condition of the family was most discouraging, as may be well imagined. John Henry was, however, a precocious boy, and when the people saw his excellent testimonials from the schools of Zurich, accompanied by the statement that he had been regarded as a worthy student for the ministry, they insisted that he must preach. Boy preachers have always been popular with the masses, and we are not surprised that he was greeted with enthusiasm.

"And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew."

Everywhere the people were eager to accept him as their pastor, and on the title-page of the records of the church

¹¹⁶ Good's "History," p. 182.

at New Goshenhoppen he stated that he simultaneously served the congregations at Skippack, Old Goshenhoppen, New Goshenhoppen, Swamp, Saucon, Egypt, Macedonia, Mosillem, Oley, Bern, and Tulpehocken. He treated his predecessor, Boehm, with little consideration, and the latter naturally complained of such unauthorized interference with his work.

The inscriptions on the title-pages of church records, which have led to so much misunderstanding, are easily explained. Goetschius found the books already in existence, containing a number of entries of baptism; but the first page was in each case unoccupied, and he took a boyish pleasure in putting his name there, sometimes adding a few sentences in Greek or Latin. The inscription at New Goshenhoppen was not written before 1736, though on the next following page there is the record of a baptism solemnized in 1731 by some earlier minister. The inscription at Egypt turns out to have been written in 1739, and the one at Great Swamp alone is legibly dated April 24, 1736. There was no intention to deceive, but the circumstances very naturally led to a misapprehension. As for the Greek and Latin sentences they were nothing but reminiscences of the Latin school at Zurich.

In 1737 Goetschius applied for ordination to the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, but the application was not granted. In 1739, or 1740, he retired from his work in Pennsylvania for the purpose of continuing his studies, and was irregularly ordained by Dorsius, Tennent, and Frelinghuysen. From this time forwards he labored exclusively in the Reformed Dutch Church, at first on Long Island and afterwards at Hackensack and Schraalenburg, N. J. At Hackensack he was visited by the Rev. H. M. Muhlenburg, who speaks of him very kindly.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ "Hallesche Nachrichten," II., 289, new edition.

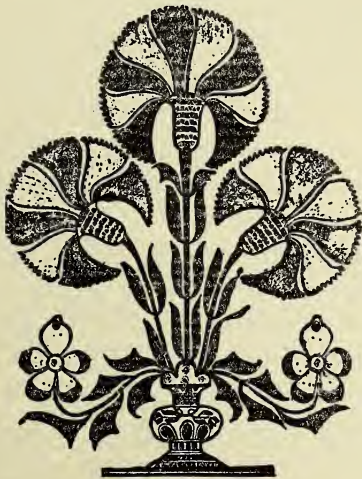
The career of Goetschius in the Dutch Church was stormy, but he was recognized as a man of strength and influence. Corwin says: "He was below the middle size, of a vigorous constitution, abrupt in speech, but his language was clear and expressive. He was a man of deep feeling and strong passions, it being said that once when resistance was apprehended to his entering the church at Hackensack, he buckled on his sword and, thus accoutred, entered the pulpit. It must be remembered, however, that it was not unusual for even a minister to wear a sword, sometimes carrying it to church and laying it behind him in the pulpit during service." His only publication was a pamphlet sermon, "The Unknown God," 1742. He died in 1774.¹¹⁸

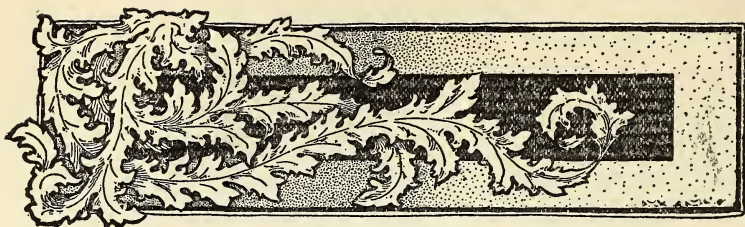
John Conrad Wirtz (or Würtz) (1706-1763)—the brother-in-law of John Henry Goetschius—became his successor in that portion of his extensive field which is now included in Northampton and Lehigh Counties. In 1750 he removed to New Jersey and was ordained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick. In 1761 he was called to the pastorate of the Reformed Church at York, Pa., where he died after two years' service. He bears the reputation of having been a faithful and devoted minister. In York he built a new church. "At the time of his death the floor was not yet laid; so they buried him under the altar."¹¹⁹ From what we have said it must be evident that there was

¹¹⁸ John Mauritius Goetschius, a brother of John Henry, was ten years old at the time of the arrival of the family in America. He seems to have studied in Europe. A *volum*, written in Dutch, in the album of Dr. Zubly, dated Zurich, October 19, 1743, is signed "J. M. Göetschius, St. Theol." Corwin says: "He came to America in 1744"; but the latter must be the date of his return from his studies. He preached and practised medicine—preaching both German and Dutch—at Schoharie and elsewhere. A son and a grandson of John Henry Goetschius, served in the ministry of the Reformed Dutch Church.

¹¹⁹ Harbaugh's "Lives of the Fathers," I., p. 393.

confusion everywhere. Besides the ministers we have mentioned there were "land-lopers" whose names are perhaps fortunately forgotten, or if remembered are hardly worthy of record. The moral condition of the people is described as most discouraging, especially in consequence of the drinking habits which were then prevalent. Order and discipline were almost unknown. So far as we can see the only movements in the direction of organization was the adoption by many congregations of Boehm's Constitution of 1725, and in the work of this good man we see the brightest prospect of better days.

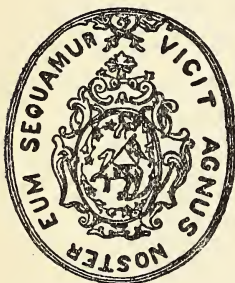




CHAPTER IX.

THE UNITY CONFERENCES.

Henry Antes—John Bechtel—C. H. Rauch—Brandmüller—Jacob Lischy.



SEAL OF THE UNITAS
FRATRUM.

THE multitude of sects was in Pennsylvania a serious obstacle to the progress of the Church. It was impossible to interest a whole community in the founding of a church, or in the establishment of a college—as had been the case in New England—for in extensive regions there were hardly two neighbors who were agreed in religious faith and practice.

There were not only the denominations with which we are now familiar; but all the little mystical sects and coteries, which sprang directly or indirectly from the revival of Jean de Labadie, had their American representatives. The very head and center of this mysticism was Oley, in Berks County, concerning which such men as Schlatter and Muhlenberg expressed themselves in unmistakable language. It was one of the oldest and richest settlements, and its earliest settlers were unusually intelligent; and yet they represented so many different shades of faith and unbelief that it was not until nearly half a century after the first settlement had

passed away that any single denomination found itself sufficiently strong to attempt the erection of a building devoted exclusively to religious purposes. Naturally enough it was from this place, where the evil was most keenly felt, that there came the first cry for the union of churches. If they could not be brought to accept a common confession of faith, might they not be induced to join in the profession of Christian love? John Adam Gruber, of Oley—an “Inspirationist” of the school of John Frederick Rock—issued in 1736 an appeal for religious union. The project was extensively discussed, but it was first brought into tangible shape by Henry Antes, who was known as “*der fromme Reformirte Mann aus Friedrich township.*”

John Henry Antes¹²⁰ was born in 1701 at Freinsheim, in the Palatinate, and was baptized in the Reformed Church of that place on the 17th of July of the same year.¹²¹ His father, Philip Frederick Antes, in later years migrated to America with his family, and in 1723 purchased a farm in

Frederick township

what is now Montgomery County. Possibly he resided there a year or two before the purchase was effected. It seems to be taken for granted that Henry Antes accompanied his father, and both were from the beginning prominent members of the Falckner Swamp church, which was near at hand. As we have seen, it was Henry Antes who persuaded Boehm to undertake the work of the ministry.

¹²⁰ Our readers have no doubt observed that among the Germans of that age the first Christian name was rarely used. The second name—*der Rufname*—was the name by which they were called, and which they employed as a signature. It was so with Antes and many others mentioned in this volume.

¹²¹ McMinn, “On the Frontier with Col. Antes,” Camden, N. J., 1900.

For some years the two men were very intimate, and Boehm himself refers, in one of his published pamphlets, to the hours they had spent in sweet religious communion. Antes himself soon became a religious exhorter, if not a preacher. Harbaugh says that as early as 1736 he ministered to the Reformed people in Oley. He was less denominational than Boehm, and greeted Christians of every name with warm affection. When the celebrated revivalist, George Whitefield, came to Pennsylvania he visited Henry Antes and preached at his house April 23, 1740, to a great multitude of people.¹²² The Moravian bishop, Petrus Bohler, preached German on the same occasion.

When Count Zinzendorf arrived in Philadelphia in December, 1741, he soon made the acquaintance of Henry Antes, and the latter explained to him his plan for the

Joining clubs

union of the churches. It is said that the Count hesitated for some time, but finally gave his approval. Antes therefore issued his "Call for a meeting of Christians, to be held on New Year's Day, 1742, in Germantown."¹²³ It was to be held "not for the purpose of disputing with one another, but to confer in love on the important articles of faith, in order to see how near all could come together

¹²² Mr. Seward, who accompanied Whitefield, says in his Journal, pp. 12, 13: "They were Germans where we dined and supped, and they prayed and sang in German as we did in English before and after eating." This occasion would afford a splendid subject for a painter—Whitefield preaching in English to the Germans of Frederick Township, who, while most of them probably failed to understand the sermon, could not help feeling the power of his transcendent eloquence.

¹²³ Reprinted in *Büdingische Sammlungen*, II., p. 722. Translated in McMinn's "On the Frontier with Col. Antes," p. 20.

in fundamental points." It was this meeting that led to the organization of the "Congregation of God in the Spirit."

Seven conferences were held between January 1 and June 3, 1742. The proceedings, together with other documents pertaining to the general subject, were in the same year published in a quarto volume by Benjamin Franklin.¹²⁴ There can be no doubt that these conferences or synods attracted a great deal of attention, and at the first meeting eight different sects were represented. Unfortunately, perhaps, the representatives were generally self-appointed and most of them were popularly regarded as extreme pietists or mystics who entertained modes of thought that were at least unusual. The hope of Antes that the meeting would "confer in love" was not realized. The "Ephrata Brethren" were there in force, and naturally there were sharp contentions. Gradually, however, the extremists withdrew, and at the third conference—held in Oley at the house of John De Turck—an organization was effected in accordance with the plans of its earliest promoter.

There can be no doubt that from the beginning the leading spirit in the conferences was Count Zinzendorf. He has often been blamed for having employed them for proselyting purposes. Professor Seidensticker—employing a German idiom—says: "He sought to bring them all under one hat, that is, *his own hat*." This reproach, however, appears to be undeserved. Unless we greatly misunderstand the purpose of Count Zinzendorf and his coadjutors they never wished to establish a denomination in the modern sense, that would compete in numbers with existing ecclesiastical organizations. In faith Zinzendorf

¹²⁴ AUTHENTISCHE RELATION, etc. Titles in Hildebrun, I., 747, and in Seidensticker's "First Century of German Printing," p. 16.

was a Lutheran, as he was always ready to declare; but he was not a *doctrinaire*. Many of his coadjutors belonged to other confessions; but they made no renunciation of their faith when they joined the *Unitas Fratrum*. The brotherhood had been instituted with other purposes, and in its unity the brethren ignored the differences of creed and nationality. In its practical relations it might have been called a great missionary organization that stretched forth its arms to embrace many nations. For the accomplishment of its highest purposes it was deemed necessary to establish settlements that might become centers of influence; but it was never supposed that Christendom would in all respects accommodate itself to the peculiar forms of life which were there cultivated. The founders had a beautiful vision of unity in diversity—of a church that preserved its local forms and confessions, but was pervaded by a higher life, and was most intimately connected with the local centers which the brotherhood had founded. If such a plan could have been carried out the results would have been grand beyond conception. The ancient forms of faith, which men had learned to love, would not have been sacrificed; there would have been no lack of that generous rivalry which often leads to earnest effort; but there might have been a “Union in the Spirit” that would have been the nearest approach to millennial anticipations which the world has ever seen.

For such a purpose Zinzendorf’s theory of Tropes appeared to be peculiarly well suited. The idea was professedly based on Philippians 1, 18; and though it may be traced back to the early history of the Bohemian Brethren, it was Zinzendorf who developed and applied it. According to this theory it was possible for true Christians to retain their denominational peculiarities, while their hearts

were united in an elect brotherhood. In fact it was not very different from the method of organizing devout Christians into societies, without separating them from the congregations to which they had been previously attached, which had for some time prevailed among the pietists of Germany.

It seemed at first as if this well-meant plan would prove successful. Many excellent men welcomed it as well suited to existing conditions. So far as the Reformed Church was concerned the Count could hardly be called an intruder, for there was as yet no general organization. Though himself in faith a Lutheran, he had been ordained to the ministry by the leading minister of the Reformed Church of Brandenburg, the celebrated Jablonsky,¹²⁵ who was also a Moravian bishop, and had been active in the organization of the renewed church. By the authority thus granted, Zinzendorf proceeded to ordain Reformed ministers, and for a time it must have seemed as if there would be no serious opposition to his authority.

The first Conference, as we have seen, was held at Germantown. JOHN BECHTEL was ministering to a Reformed congregation in that place. Bechtel was born Oct. 3, 1690, at Weinheim in the Palatinate, to which place his parents fled when the French burnt Franckenthal, their native place.¹²⁶ His parents seem to have intended to train him for the ministry; but they died during

¹²⁵ Daniel Ernst Jablonsky was born November 26, 1660, at Nassenhuben and died at Berlin May 25, 1741. He was successively pastor of Reformed churches at Magdeburg and Lissa, and was subsequently the favorite court-preacher of the first two kings of Prussia. He labored earnestly to promote the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Prussia. From the University of Oxford he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was a son-in-law of Comenius. For a full sketch of his life see De Schweinitz, "History of the Unitas Fratrum," p. 625.

¹²⁶ Jordan, "John Bechtel," p. 2.

his childhood and he learned the trade of a wood-turner. In 1715 he was married to Maria Appolonia Marret, with whom he had nine children, of whom five were daughters. After following his trade for some years in Heidelberg and Franckenthal, he went with his family, in 1726, to Pennsylvania, and settled in Germantown, where he resided for nearly twenty years. He was a devout man and soon began to minister to the Reformed people in sacred things. If there had been a congregation there at an earlier date it must have been entirely broken up, for we read that at first he held religious meetings not only on Sundays, but every morning and evening on week days. The congregation which he gathered built a church on Market Square, and in 1733 called him to be their pastor. It is said that before this time he had received from the authorities in Heidelberg a license to preach the Gospel.¹²⁷ In 1738, he tells us in his autobiography, he made the acquaintance of the Moravian Bishop Spangenberg, who was then sojourning at the house of Christopher Wiegner, on the Skippack. At this old Schwenkfelder homestead there was a monthly meeting of devout people, among whom were Antes, Stiefel, Adam Gruber, and Bechtel, who were called the "Associate Brethren of Skippack."¹²⁸ Here, says Bechtel, they "enjoyed many blessed hours together."

When Count Zinzendorf arrived in America he wrote to Bechtel to meet him in Philadelphia. The daughter of the latter wrote many years afterwards that her father at first hesitated to accept the invitation; but she was enthusiastic and urged him to go, personally bringing his horse

¹²⁷ Harbaugh's "Fathers," I., p. 317.

¹²⁸ See also chapter on the Skippack Brethren, German Sectarians, Vol. I., pp. 423-438.

saddled and bridled to the door. From this time onward Bechtel was one of the Count's most active coadjutors. It was in his church that the latter preached his first American sermon; and it was at Zinzendorf's direction that Bechtel was ordained by Bishop David Nitschmann, April 18, 1742, "to labor with the Reformed brethren who were connected with the synod." At the same time he was appointed commissary or overseer of all the German Reformed churches in Pennsylvania. Zinzendorf wrote to Boehm, informing him of this arrangement, and suggesting that he should submit to Bechtel's authority. That Boehm was not the kind of man to respond favorably to such a proposition need hardly be stated.

It is for his contributions to religious literature that Bechtel is best remembered. It was at the fifth Conference, held at Germantown, that he presented the manuscript of his Catechism, *ad modum Bernatum*, for the use of the Reformed congregation in Pennsylvania which held to the union. It claimed to be based on the decrees of the Great Synod of Berne, held in 1532, ignoring all later Reformed confessions. It was not without merit, being full of unction and fervor; but to those who insisted on the preservation of doctrine in its historic sense it naturally failed to prove acceptable.

The interest at present attached to this publication is mainly bibliographic. It was printed in Roman characters by Benjamin Franklin under the following title:

"Kurzer | Catechismus | vor etliche | Gemeinen Jesu | Aus der | Reformirten Religion | In Pennsylvania | Die sich zum alten Berner Synodo halten: Herausgegeben | von | Johannes Bechteln | Diener des Worts Gottes | Philadelphia | Gedruckt bey Benjamin Franklin, 1742."

On the reverse of the title page is the following advertisement:

Kurzer
Catechismus

Vor etliche
Gemeinen Jesu

Aus der
Reformirten Religion

In
PENNSYLVANIA,

Die sich zum alten Berner Synodo
halten:

Herausgegeben

von

Johannes Bechteln,

Diener des Wortes Gottes.



PHILADELPHIA,
Gedruckt bey Benjamin Franklin,
1742.

En kort
CATECHISMUS

För några

JESU FOERSAMLINGAR

UTAF THEN

REFORMERTA RELIGIONEN

UTI **PENNSYLVANIA,**

Som hålla sig till thet Berniska Synodo;

Hvilket är

Enligt med Lärone uti then
MAEHRISKA KYRKIAN.

Först utgifwen i thet Tyska Språket
Af **JOHANNES BECHTEL,**
Guds Ords Tjenare.

PHILADELPHIA:
Tryckt hos **BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,**
Åhr 1743.

Kurzer
CATECHISMUS

Vor etliche

GEMEINEN JESU

Aus der

REFORMIRTEN RELIGION

In **PENNSYLVANIA,**

Die sich zum alten Berner Synodo halten:

Herausgegeben von

JOHANNES BECHTELN,

Diener des Wortes Gottes.



PHILADELPHIA,
Gedruckt bey **BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,** 1742.

A SHORT
CATECHISM

FOR SOME

CONGREGATIONS of JESUS

OF THE

REFORMED RELIGION

IN **PENNSYLVANIA,**

Who keep to the ancient Synod of BERN;

Agreeable to

The DOCTRINE

Of the

MORAVIAN CHURCH.

First published

IN **GERMAN,**

By

JOHN BECHTEL,
Minister of the Word of GOD.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed by **ISAIAH WARNER,** almost opposite
to **CHARLES BROCKDEN's** in Chestnut-
Street. **MDCCLII**

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



TEACHING THE CATECHISM.

(COURTESY OF THE LADIES HOME JOURNAL.)

“Zu haben

In *Philadelphia* bey Stephen Benezet

In *Germantown* bey Bechteln.

In *Falckner* Schwamm bey H. Antes.

In *Oley* bey Johannes Leinbach dem Aeltern.

In *Lancaster Town* bey Daniel Maquenet.

In *Schippach* bey G. Merckeln.

In *Socken* bey Jacob Bachman.

In den *Forks* bey Eyseck.”

An English translation was printed in the same year by “Isaiah Warner, almost opposite to Charles Brockden’s in Chestnut Street”; and an exact reproduction of the German edition was issued in German type, probably in Germany, though the imprint “Philadelphia” was retained. In 1743 the Catechism was translated into Swedish by Olaf Malander, and issued from Franklin’s office. All these publications are now regarded as among the rarest issues of the American press.

The majority of the Reformed congregation in Germantown did not sustain Bechtel, and on the 9th day of February, 1744, he was dismissed from the pastorate. He tells us that this decision was “a true comfort” to him, as it opened his eyes to his true position. In 1746 he transferred his property to the Brethren, to be used as a boarding school, and in the same year he removed to Bethlehem.¹²⁹ Here he lived in retirement, highly respected by the community, until his death, which occurred April 16, 1777, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. His descendants are numerous and respectable.

¹²⁹ As early as 1742 he issued a prospectus for a school. Title in “Frese-nius’s Nachrichten,” III., 740.

The Moravians opened a school in Germantown in 1742, in the house of Bro. Ashmead.—Jordan’s “John Bechtel,” p. 12; “Reichel Mem.,” p. 49.

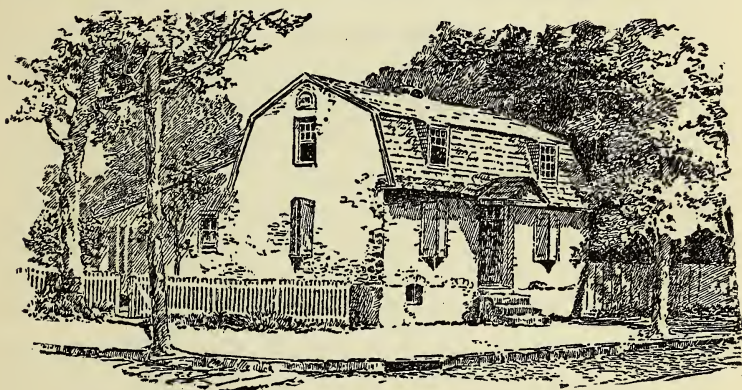
WLen teutschen Eltern auf dem Lande, welche ihre Kinder gerne besser besorget sähen ohne Hinderung ihres Hauswesens, gedencket man dazu einen einfältigen und herzhlichen Vorschlag zu thun am nechstfolgenden 6^{ten} April 1742. Nachmittage um 1 Uhr. Vornach sich des Heils ihrer Kinder begierige Väter oder Mütter in allen Townships zu richten belieben, und sich deßhalben zu besagter Zeit und Stunde an Bechtels oder des Häffners Lehmanns Hause in Germantown melden wollen. Wer selbst nicht kommen kan, der wolle seine Meynung jemand anders auftragen.

Germantown am 22. Martij, 1742.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE PROSPECTUS FOR THE FIRST BOARDING SCHOOL
IN PENNSYLVANIA.

CHRISTIAN HENRY RAUCH, the celebrated Moravian missionary, was another Reformed minister who stood in Unity. He was born in Anhalt-Bernburg, Germany, July 5, 1718, and died on the island of Jamaica, Nov. 11, 1763. In the history of the Church of the Brethren his career occupies many a brilliant page; but the fact may not be generally known that he was an active laborer in the Congregation of God in the Spirit. His work for the Reformed Church was, however, only an episode in his

greater missionary activity. He had preached to the Indians of Shecomeco, in the province of New York, near the borders of Connecticut, and brought with him to the third Conference, held at Oley, Feb. 10, 1742, three Indians who were baptized under the names of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Rauch was appointed one of the trustees of the congregation, and a few years later we find him acting as superintendent of the Reformed *tropos*. Harbaugh tells us that in 1746, "he preached for the



AN OLD HOUSE IN GERMANTOWN, BUILT 1698.

Reformed, more or less regularly, in Heidelberg, Tulpehocken, Mühlbach, at Matthias Dietz's, Swatara, Quito-pahilla, Donegal, Warwick, at Leonard Bender's, Lancaster, Mode-Creek, Coventry, in Chester County, Oley, Schippach and Goshenhoppen, in Montgomery County." In an early, anonymous history of the Moravian Church of York, preserved in manuscript at Lancaster, he is mentioned as especially active in the organization of churches beyond the Susquehanna. In 1749, when he had practically withdrawn from his special labors in the Reformed Church he took charge of the Brethren congregation and

school at Lititz, Lancaster County, serving also as superintendent of neighboring congregations. Subsequently we find him in North Carolina, and at last in the West Indies, laboring enthusiastically in the establishment of missions among the negroes. He was a noble character, and the Church of the Brethren has worthily done honor to his memory.

JOHN BRANDMÜLLER (or Brandmiller) was another member of the same elect circle. In an autobiographical sketch¹³⁰ he tells us that he was born in Basel, Switzerland, November 24, 1704. In his thirteenth year he "was taken up into the Reformed religion, with specially deep feelings, amid many tears." His subsequent history was eventful, not to say romantic. He traveled as far as Treves with a German nobleman, and served for some time in the French army. Returning to Basel he adopted the profession of his father—who was a bookkeeper—and was in 1735 married to Anna Maria Burkhart, with whom he had three children. Having read some of the writings of Christian David he visited Herrnhut, and at Marienborn made the acquaintance of Count Zinzendorf. Having joined the Moravians he lived for some time with his family at Herrnhag, and then, in 1741, accompanied the first pilgrim congregation to Pennsylvania. After remaining here for six months he returned to Europe, and in 1743 brought his family to America. Having served for some time as steward for the Brethren, he was ordained for service in the Reformed *tropos*, and preached successively at Allemaengel (Albany Township, Berks County), Swatara and Donegal. As he was familiar with the French language, he was in 1747 commissioned to visit the Walloons in the

¹³⁰ Harbaugh's "Lives of the Fathers," I., p. 375.

townships of Sopus (Esopus) and New Paltz, west of the Hudson. On his return he reported "that they conducted their worship partly in French, had a lector, and that a Dutch dominie ministered to them occasionally."¹³¹ In later years Brandmüller was a teacher at Friedensthal, near Nazareth, and also served for some time as printer

Jacob Lischys
Reformirten Predigers
DECLARATION

seines Sinnes.

An seine

Reformirte Religions-Genossen
In Pennsylvanien.

for the community. On the 16th of August, 1777, he was accidentally drowned at Bethlehem.

JACOB LISCHY is in some respects the most interesting person in this period; but it is not easy to trace his career. He appears like a meteor and disappears in darkness. It appears that he was a native of Mühlhausen, a considerable town of Alsace-Lorraine, which was at the time of his birth connected with Switzerland.¹³² Like his father he was by trade a weaver. Converted through the in-

¹³¹ William C. Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I., p. 50.

¹³² Dr. Good says: "There were two Jacob Lischys born there; one on Sept. 20, 1716, the other on May 28, 1719. We do not know which of them is he." "History of the Ger. Ref. Church," p. 238.

fluence of the Moravians he visited their principal settlements in Germany, and came to America with the so-called "First Sea Congregation," landing in Philadelphia, May 28, 1742. In December of the same year Count Zinzendorf commissioned him to labor among the Reformed people in Lancaster County, and in January, 1743, he was ordained by Bishop David Nitschmann. On

Jacob Bischofs
Reformirten Predigers
 Dritte
Declaration
 Seines Sinnes,
 an seine
Reformirte Religions-Genossen
 in
Pensylvanien.

Auf Begehren guter Freunde heraus gegeben.



Germanon/ gedruckt bey Christoph Saur/ 1743.

the 17th of September, 1742, he was married to Mary, second daughter of John Stephen Benezet, merchant of Philadelphia.

Lischy was a revivalist in the fullest sense of the word. He was a natural orator and the people heard him gladly. That he was sufficiently intelligent is evident from his cor-

respondence and publications. In 1743 he was serving at least ten different congregations in four different counties: Bern, Heidelberg and Blue Mountain, in Berks; Swatara and Quitopehilla, in Lebanon; Muddy Creek, Cocalico, Donegal and White Oak, in Lancaster; and Vincent, in Chester County. He organized (or reorganized) the Muddy Creek congregation May 19, 1743. In the following year he crossed the Susquehanna, and in May, 1745, organized

Eine
Warnende
Mächter: Stimm

An alle GOTT und JESUM liebende Seelen.
Hervorgenommen
Aus dem überaus wichtigsten Evangelio
Von den Falschen Propheten
Zuerst in einer Predig am 8 Sonntag nach Trinitatis
Der Reformirten Gemeinde an der kleinen Catones mündlich
Zuge rufen
Und hernach solches mit kurzen doch gründlichen
Anmerkungen
von den segensreichen

Mährischen Brüdern
oder

Sinzendörffern

Verkündiget:
Und auf vielfältiges Begehren, zu desto allgemeinerer
Warnung und Erbauung
Zum Druck übergeben durch

Jacob Eisch V.D.M.

Prediger der Reformirten Gemeinden über der Susquehanna in Pennsylvania.
Germanown gedruckt bey Christoph Saur 1749.

the York and Creutz Creek congregation, "in accordance with the decrees of the Synod of Berne." In later years his labors were ordinarily confined to the latter region, and in the minutes of Coetus he signs his name as "Pastor of the Churches beyond the Susquehanna."

Lischy's chief trouble was due to his peculiar ecclesiastical position. At first he was earnestly devoted to the Moravian movement, and accompanied Zinzendorf on his journey to the Minnisinks; but when the Brethren consolidated into a denomination he was gradually alienated. For a long time he wavered between two parties, and was at different times favored or rejected by both. He published three pamphlets,¹³³ in the first of which he defended his position, and in the second and third sought to explain the reasons for his separation from the Moravians.

Though the people were pleased with Lischy's preaching he was constantly employing words and phrases which were regarded as peculiarly Moravian, and there were some who were not pleased with his frequent visits to Bethlehem. He generally had no difficulty in convincing them that he was "*echt Reformirt*"; but his vacillation—not to say prevarication—is not to be excused. Several popular conventions were held to determine the *status* of the pastor. At one of these conventions, held in 1743, the convention issued a broadside which was printed by Saur. Notwithstanding its length we venture to translate it, preserving the original spelling of proper names, though there are several evident mistakes:

¹³³ The titles of these publications, as given by Seidensticker, are as follows:

1. Jacob Lischys Reformirten Predigers DECLARATION seines Sinnes. An seine Reformirten Religions-Genossen in Pennsylvanien. 1743. 8vo, 8 pp.

2. Jacob Lischys Reformirten Predigers zweyte Declaration seines Sinnes an seine Reformirte Religions-Genossen in Pennsylvanien. Auf Begehren guter Freunde herausgegeben. Germantown, C. Saur. 1748. 4to, pp. 20.

3. Eine Warnende Wächterstimme an alle Gott und Jesum liebende Seelen. Hergenommen aus dem überaus wichtigen Evangelio von den falschen Propheten. Germantown, C. Saur. 1749. 8vo, 48 pp.

These titles are somewhat abridged.

“ANNOUNCEMENT.

“We, the undersigned, deacons and elders of Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania herewith inform our dear brethren that on the 29th of the month of August we met in large numbers in Heydelberg township, in order thoroughly to inform ourselves concerning all the scandals

Bekantmachung.

WIR Vorsteher und Aeltesten der Reformirten Gemeinen in Pennsylvanien. Thun hiemit allen unsern lieben Mitbrüdern zu wissen, daß wir uns den 29 August monath, in der Township Heydelberg, in grosser anzahl versammelt befunden, umb uns über aller der Lasterung und Lügen, welche gegen unsern geliebten Prediger *Jacob Lisschy*, überall so wohl schriftlich als mündlich ausgebreitet worden, gründlich zu informiren. Wir haben aber zu unserer Freude und Trost vernommen und befunden, daß er nicht allein ein richtig ordinirter Prediger ist (laut seines Ordination Scheins, den wir gesehen und gelesen) sondern daß er sich das Heyl unserer Seelen, und die wohlthart aller gemeinden, von hertzen angelegen seyn lästet. Wie wir dann zu unsern grössten vernügen, es durch seine Evangelische Predigten, schon eine raume zeit erleben und erkant, und durch seine Declaration aufs neue versichert worden sind: Wir haben ihn den gemelten Herrn *Jacob Lisschy* auf unsern Kirchen und Aeltesten Rath einmütiglich aufs neue, zu allen unsern Gemeinen vocirt, und werden uns in künftige an keine Lügen reden, noch schriften, die gegen ihn heraus kommen möchten, mehr kehren. Wir bitten unsern Gott und Herrn, daß er denselben unsern getreuen lieben Prediger, in dem lautern Sinn, in der Genade Jesu Christi, in der Liebe und dem Eißer in des Herrn Werk erhalten wolle, damit alle unsere Gemeinden, durch desselben getreue dienste, auf den Grund der Apostelen und Propheten, da Jesus Christus der Eckstein ist, wahrhaftig gegründet und erbauet werden mögen in unserm allerheyligsten glauben; Als die wir, so viel uns der Herr gnade geben wird, ihm getreulich an die hand gehen und mithelfen werden. Zu uhrkund dessen, haben wir unsere Namen eigenhändig unterschrieben, und zur benachrichtigung aller unserer Mit Brüder öffentlich bekant machen wollen.

Gegeben auf unsern Kirchen u. Aeltesten Rath in Heydelberg den 29 Augusti, 1743.

Johannes Schneider, Aeltester in Bern.
Friedrich Gerhart, Aelt. in Heydelberg.
Jacob Bruener, Aelt. an der Cocaloo.
Johann Seib, Aelt. in Dunigall.

Anthony Rueger, Aelt. am blauen Berge.
Eberhart Rimm, Vorsteh. u. Heltzeran. Maiden Creek.
Phil. Breitenstein, Aelt. in Wintzenen d. Skuylen.
Christian Fuhrmann, Aelt. in Weischen-land.

and falsehoods which have been circulated in writing and orally concerning our dear pastor, Jacob Lisschy. To our joy and comfort we have, however, learned and concluded, that he is not only a properly ordained minister

(according to his certificate of ordination which we have seen and read), but that he is heartily concerned for the salvation of our souls and the welfare of all the congregations. As for some time we have been to our great satisfaction assured of this fact by his Evangelical sermons, and are further convinced thereof by his declaration, we have, at this our council of churches and elders, unanimously renewed our call to him, the aforesaid Mr. Jacob Lisschy, to be the pastor of all our congregations, and we shall hereafter take no notice of lying speeches nor of publications that may appear against him. We pray our Lord and Master that He may preserve our dear and faithful minister in purity of purpose, in the grace of Jesus Christ, in love and in zeal in the work of the Lord, so that all our congregations may, through his faithful service, be truly grounded and built up in our most holy faith on the foundations of the prophets and apostles, of which Jesus Christ is the corner-stone. And we, in so far as the Lord shall grant us grace, will faithfully support and assist him. In testimony thereof we have personally subscribed our names, and desire to publish the same for the information of all our brethren.

“ Given at our council of churches and elders in Heidelberg, August 29, 1743.

“ Johannes Schneider, elder in Bern ; Anthony Rueger, elder at the Blue Mountains ; Friedrich Gerhart, elder in Heidelberg ; Eberhart Rimm, deacon and helper at Maiden creek ; Jacob Bruener, elder at the Cocalico ; Phil. Breitenstein, elder in Wintzen, on the Schuylkill ; Frantz Seib, elder in Dunigall ; Ludwig Born, elder beyond the Schwartah ; Christian Fuhrmann, eld. at Whiteoak.

“ *For the sake of brevity but one elder from each congregation has signed the above in the name of all.*

“We furthermore announce that we as deacons and elders, together with many other discreet members of the *reformed* church, have unanimously resolved : That in order to maintain peace in our congregation, a judicious man be appointed in every township in which the aforesaid Mr. Jacob Lischy has been accepted as pastor, to whom everything that can be truthfully testified against him (Lischy) must be reported. If any one should, therefore, hereafter discover in him personally anything that contradicts our Reformed religion and doctrine, he is hereby notified to report the same for thorough investigation either to Stephen Brecht, in Bern ; Frederick Böckel, in Heydelberg ; Anthony Rüger, at the Blue Mountains ; Eberhart Rimm, at the Maiden Creek ; Michael Amweg, at the Cocalico ; Conrad Reffior, in Wintzen township ; John Etter, in Donnigall ; Peter Kohl, in Whiteoak Land ; Baltzer Ort, on Quintobesil ; Ludwig Born, over the Schwatara ; or to Conrad Werns, near Ephrata. If any one ventures to slander this faithful preacher in writing or word, and to speak against him without having brought charges against him at the aforesaid places, we shall recognize and regard that person as a liar, deceiver and disturber of the peace ; and we shall number him among the people who smite their neighbor with their tongue, and according to our Catechism are not to be accepted as Christians. We all, therefore, in Christian love, recommend unto such as are inclined to judge and depreciate their neighbor to remember the following passage : *‘I say unto you, that every idle word that man shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.’* Matth. 12, v. 36, 37 ; Rom. 14, v. 12.

“God willing, the sermon on Acts 20, 28, preached at the Council of churches and elders, will be published as soon

as possible. Whoever desires to possess it should inform the subscribers."

About a year later a similar meeting was held at Muddy Creek. On this occasion Lischy produced a poetic composition which he called a hymn, though it was evidently never intended to be sung. It was in fact an acknowledgment of his adherence to the cause of the Brethren. The "hymn" consists of 16 stanzas which Harbaugh gives in full.¹³⁴ The first stanza reads in the original:

" Was soll der Knecht Gottes Zwinglius,
Und der ehrwürdige Calvinus,
Doch wohl zu uns sagen wenn sie herkämen
Und ihres Volks Sache so recht vernähmen?
Wer weiss es wohl?"

Though the whole composition is too long for our present purpose, we cannot resist the temptation of reproducing in English a few of the most characteristic stanzas: ¹³⁵

"JACOB LISCHY'S HYMN.

" What would God's servant Zwinglius,
And eke the reverend Calvinus,
Say to their people if they could come
To learn the evils of Christendom?
Ah! who can tell?

" Methinks they would weep with heartfelt grief,
To see their people without relief;
For the world is full of sin and sorrow,
That even Sodoma and Gomorrah
Were hardly worse.

" "Reformed is the name we bear,' 'tis said;
That means corrected and rightly led;
But the poor souls have gone astray,
And none of them all can find the way:

Kyrie eleis!

¹³⁴ Harbaugh's "Lives of the Fathers," I., p. 356.

¹³⁵ This version was published by the translator in "American Church History" series, vol. 8, p. 276.

"In the decrees of the Synod of Berne
'Tis fairly written, that all may learn,
That Christ is the center of Christian teaching,
And that His blest passion of all our preaching
Must be the theme.

"Now morals alone are preached to men,
Though Jesus is mentioned now and then :
In Lenten seasons, when preachers choose,
They growl a little against the Jews,
How bad they were.

"But we, by wisdom divine elected,
And as His people by grace directed,
The passion of Jesus exalting higher,
Will join for aye with the heavenly choir,
To praise the Lamb."

In later years Lischy was fully identified with the Reformed Church. In this relation we may have occasion to refer to him again. He was finally deposed for moral delinquency, and died in York County in 1781.

The "Congregation of God in the Spirit" was so exalted in its purposes that we might be inclined to regret its lack of permanent success. The reasons of its failure, however, are not difficult to determine. In the first place the personal influence of Count Zinzendorf was too pronounced. That he was thoroughly sincere could not be doubted; but his forms of speech appeared new and peculiar. The mystics were the first to withdraw, while those of the Reformed and Lutherans who attended the conferences became fully conformed to the Moravian type of piety and devotion. To reach a similar result with the



ZINZENDORF ARMS.

great multitude to whom such conditions were entirely strange, would have demanded long and patient training, and this was evidently impossible. So far as the Reformed Church is concerned it may be added that from the beginning Zinzendorf expressed himself in unmistakable language in opposition to the high Calvinism of the Church of Holland, as he conceived it to be represented by Boehm and his coadjutors. The result may easily be surmised. Boehm set his face like a flint against the union movement, and the result was a controversy which was hardly creditable to either of the parties involved.

The conflict began in Philadelphia. Here the Lutherans and Reformed worshipped jointly in a building which they had rented on Arch, above Fifth Street. It had originally been a barn, but had been fitted up with a pulpit and seats.¹³⁶ Zinzendorf, who now preferred to be known by one of his minor titles as Herr Ludwig von Thürnstein, or more briefly as "Bruder Ludwig," preached for the first time to the Lutherans, January 21, 1742. Before preaching there he wrote to Boehm, inquiring whether, as he occupied the same pulpit, he had any authority to prevent his preaching there, at the same time giving him a pretty sharp thrust on the subject of doctrine. Boehm's reply was very laconic, merely stating that the Reformed had "nothing to enjoin on the Lutherans on their own time," but "protesting if any one should say that permission was given from the Reformed side, or from us, to preach at the time and place belonging to the Reformed." The Lutherans might do as they pleased, but he would "have no part in what might grow out of it."¹³⁷ Some of the Lutherans called Zinzen-

¹³⁶ Reichel's "Memorials of the Moravian Church," I., p. 178. This was probably the earliest Union Church in Pennsylvania.

¹³⁷ For this correspondence, and for an account of the whole imbroglio, see Harbaugh's "Lives of the Fathers," I., pp. 279-283.

dorf to the pastorate of their church, and the result was a conflict which it is not our place to describe.

In the same year, 1742, Boehm published his *Getreuer Warnungs Brief*, which was in fact a severe attack on Zinzendorf and the Moravians. It evoked a reply from G. Neisser, of Bethlehem, in which Boehm's strictures were just as sharply answered. From internal evidence the latter book is supposed to have been written by the Count himself. In 1745 Boehm published his *Abermahlige Treue Warnung*, which was a publication of very similar character.¹³⁸

We have no desire to consider the merits of this painful controversy. In justice to the memory of Boehm it is, however, necessary to say that his strictures were not original and that he sincerely believed in their truthfulness. According to his own declaration he was but following the example of his patron Gerardus Kulenkamp, pastor in Amsterdam, who in 1739 had issued a similar publication. He might, indeed, have referred to many writers, for the presses of Germany and England teemed with similar

¹³⁸ Abridged titles of these publications are as follows :

1. GETREUER WARNUNGS BRIEF an die Hochteutsche Evangelisch Reformirten Gemeinden und alle deren Glieder in Pennsylvanien, zur getreuen Warschauung von denen Leuthen, welche unter dem nahmen von Herrnhuther bekandt seyn. * * * Nach dem exempel eines Ehrwürdigen Kirchenraths von Amsterdam in Holland. Und nun vor dem allmächtigen Gott tragender Pflicht und Schuldigkeit halben geschrieben von mir Joh : Ph : Böhm, Hochteutschen Reform. Prediger der mir anvertrauten Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien zu Philadelphiä : Gedruckt bey A. Bradfords, 1742. 8vo, iv, 96 pp.

2. AUFRICHTIGE NACHRICHT ans Publicum, über eine von dem Holländischen Pfarrer Joh. Phil. Böhmen bei Mr. Andr. Bradford edirte Lästerschriſt gegen die so genannten Herrnhuter, das ist, Die Evangelischen Brüder aus Böhmen, Mähren u. s. f. Welche jetzo in den Forks von Delaware wohnen. Herausgegeben von George Neisser, aus Sehlen in Mähren, Schulmeister zu Bethlehem. Cum approbatione Superiorum [B. Franklin]. 4to, 18 p.

3. ABERMAHLIGE TREUE WARNUNG und Vermahnung an meine sehr werthe und theuer geschätzte Reformirte Glaubensverwandte wie auch all andere, die den Herrn Jesum lieb haben, sein Heil. Evangelium und seine Heil. Sacramenten in höchsten Werth halten. Philadelphia, Isaiah Warner und Cornelia Bradford, fol. 4 pp.—*Seidensticker*.

Schmähschriften. The writer has, for instance, in his library, a collection of no less than seven tracts by Henry Rimius, translated and published in London between 1753 and 1757, which are more keenly controversial than anything written by Boehm. The latter was no doubt misinformed; but there is no occasion for supposing that he was intentionally scurrilous or unjust.

In his *Warnungs Brief* Boehm refers affectionately to his early friendship for Henry Antes. He says: "God only knows what took place between Antes and myself, as both our hearts were bound together in a hearty love to the divine truth in our Reformed doctrines. And he has not forgotten, I am sure, how he was one of those who by



Abermahlige treue Warnung und Vermahnung an meine sehr werthe und theuer geschätzte Reformirte Glaubens-verwandte, wie auch alle andere die den Herren JESUM lieb haben, sein Heil. Evangelium und seine Heil. Sacramenten in höchstem werth halten. Denen sambt und fonders wünsche ich, das sie, durch die Gnade JESU CHRISTI, die Liebe seines Himmlischen Vatters, und den Kräftig-wirckenden beystand Gottes des Heil. Geistes mogen bewahrt werden vor allem Irrthum und Schaden ihrer unsterblichen Seelen. - Amen.

Alle sambt Geliebte.

MIT euch aber meinen Religions-verwandten will ich zuorderst reden, und allen andern werthen Christen mag es zur nachricht dienen.

Es ist aller orts in diesem Lande Pennsylvania völlig offenbahr, das einige von unserer Ref. Religion so unvorsichtig in dem von Christu ihnen Marci 14 v. 28. anbefohlenen wachen und bären sich bezeigen, so das es dem Teufel welcher herum gehet wie ein brüllender Löwe und suchet welchen er verschlingen-möge, fast ein leichtes ist, solche in dem wahren Christenthum schlaffende, in der neugierigkeit aber um fremder, ja falscher Lehre, nach zu laufen sehr wackere Menschen, auf den schädlichsten Irrweg, zu ihrer Seelen ewigen schaden zu verleiten, und endlich gar zu verchlingen.

Ich habe vorm' Jahr, nach meiner pflicht und schuldigkeit, meinen getreuen Warnungs Brief gegen die sogenannte Herrn-huthen, (die am ende des Jahrs 1741 in dis Landt gekommen sind) und deren selverderbliche und gewissen verwühlende Lehre heraus kommen lassen, welcher in 6 und 1-4 Bogen kleinen Druck bestehet, und auch nachricht gegeben, das er bey Kasper Ullrich und Michei Hillegas in Philadelphia, bey Jacob Baumann in Germantown, bey Gabriel Schuler und Peter Specker in Schipbach, bey Henrich Tiringen im Fulcknerschwam, bey Isaac Lewand in Oly, und bey Jörg Umrub in Dolpibacken zu finden seye. Worinnen alle wahrhaftige nachricht wie ich sie aus Holland (welches von Hoher Universität zu Leyden in Holland geapprobirt ist) und andern orts her habe. Und bin ich gewis, das ein jeder, der diesen Brief recht einseheth und mit andacht betrachtet, wird den selbst nicht allein um alles alhier unter uns vom Herrn-huthern bisher gepassirten dingen, als wahrheit beurtheilen können; sondern sich auch vor dieser Herrn-huthischen Greuel-Lehre, zu seiner Seelen ewigen bussen, zu hüten willen. Es scheint aber das die geringe kosten umb diesen Brief zu bekommen,

his tears brought me to it that I put the yoke (of the ministry) on my neck."

It is evident, we think, that Antes hesitated long before he fully identified himself with the Moravian community. When Henry Frey went to Germany he and William Frey charged him upon his conscience to give them a faithful

Aufrichtige
NACHRICHT
 A N S
PUBLICUM,

Über eine

Von dem *Holländischen* Pfarrer JOH. PHIL. BÖHMEN
 bei M^r. Andr. Bradford edirte

Lâsterschrift

Gegest

Die so genannten HERRNHUTER,

Das ist,

Die Evangelischen Brüder aus *Böhmen, Mähren, u. f. f.*

Welche

Jetzo in den *Forks von Delaware* wohnen.

Herausgegeben von

GEORG NEISSER, aus *Seblen in Mähren*,
 Schulmeister zu BETHLEHEM.

Cum Approbatione Superiorum.

PHILADELPHIA,

Gedruckt und zu haben bei B. FRANKLIN. M DCC XLII.

account of whatever he had observed among the Moravians, promising that "if the community did not answer expectations and he should return to Pennsylvania, they would defray¹³⁹ his charges." Frey had been one of the

¹³⁹ "A True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey," London, 1753, p. 65.

“Associated Brethren of Skippack,” who met in 1738 at the house of “Stoffel” Wiegner. According to a note

Bekantmachung.

Schne mich dermahlen in einige Untersuchung einzulassen, ob es eine Gnaden-Heimsuchung Gottes vor ein Land, Stadt oder Haus sey, wenn Knechte Christi dahin kommen von der Art und Natur unsers Bruder Ludwigs, und ohne mir Mühe zu geben zu beweisen, daß dieser genugsam bekante Bruder ein Knecht Jesu Christi sey, weil die Rede jetzt nicht von einem Ob und Dieweil, sondern nur von einem Wie und Wann ist, so habe nach erfordern der Sache vor jetzt nur so viel seinethalben bekant machen sollen, daß weil man in verschiedenen Townships verlangen getragen hat, ihn annoch von Jesu zeugen zu hören, und ihm solches eines theils seine Gemeine Einrichtungen zu Bethlehem und Nazareth, andern theils seine Reisen unter die Indianer bisher nicht verstatet; gleichwol aber die von anfang bestimmte Zeit seiner Wieder zurück-Reise sehr hiranahet, so ist er gesonnen nach seiner gendigten letzten Reise, welches ohngefeh: zu Ende unsers Octobers seyn möchte, so viel möglich in alle Townships zu kommen, und daselbst zu predigen wohin man ihn verlangen würde.

Es werden daher alle diejenigen, welche entweder schon, oder noch nicht deshalber Ansuchung gethan insgesammt freundlich gebeten, sich disfalls in zeiten, entweder bey mir in Falscher-Schwamm oder in Bethlehem, oder bey den Brüdern, die sich hie und da in den Townships aufhalten schriftt oder mündlich zu melden, und zugleich County Township und Ort zu benennen wo er ohne Contradiction predigen könne, damit er gleich nach seiner zurückkunft von den Indianern, seine Zeit gehörigermassen eintheilen, und jedem benzeiten Nachricht geben könne, wo und wenn Er in diesem oder jenem Ort predigen werde.

Man hoffet, daß dieses sonst ungewöhnliche Advertisement um desto weniger jemand anstößig seyn werde, je weniger man Ueberfluß an der Predigt des Evangelii in diesem Lande hat, und es wird auch nicht vor unnöthig zu achten seyn, weil alle solche Præcautiones kaum hinlänglich sind, gewissen Leuten beizubringen, wie sehr viel daran gelegen, die Zeit recht auszukauften, welches auch damit zuerweisen ist, daß als man ihnen wissend machte, daß man sich ihrer Kinder und deren Auferziehung halber da und dort mit ihnen besprechen wolle, gar Niemand kam, zu bestimmter Zeit, und es schiene, als ob Niemanden etwas dran gelegen sey. Es haben sich doch aber eine so große Anzahl seit der Zeit deßfals gemeldet und so beweglich, daß es uns recht nahe gegangen, es ihnen darum abschlagen zu müssen, weil wir nach versäumter Zeit, da es hätte können Regulirt werden, nun unter Jahr und Tag nicht im Stande sind, Ihnen zu willfahren.

Ich wünsche deswegen, daß die, denen daran gelegen Bruder Ludwig predigen zu hören, sich der rechten Zeit bedienen, und deßfals an gehörigem Ort melden mögen; denn er ist willig, aber nicht treibend in solchen Sachen.

Das habe ich bekant machen wollen in unsers Bruder Ludwigs Abwesenheit, aber mit seinem Vorwissen.

Brüder: des Townships in Phil. County
Den 15 September 1742,

Henrich Antes.

added by the editor of his book, he was "a Baptist who wore a long beard, living as a solitary in the garden-lodge" at Herrnag. He was a natural growler, and after he left the Brethren he attacked them violently in print. His book is of no value; but in it he frequently refers to his "old neighbor," Henry Antes, who, he tells us, in 1748, has "laid his head in their lap and been honored with the dignity of a beadle."

It was, indeed, in that year that Antes removed with his family¹⁴⁰ to Bethlehem. Here he was active in every good work and was very highly esteemed. In 1750¹⁴¹ he left Bethlehem and returned to his farm in Frederick township. Though there was a disagreement he never separated from the Moravians,¹⁴² and was often called to Bethlehem for consultation in important matters. He died in 1755 and was buried on his farm, about halfway between Falkner Swamp and Keeler's churches. Ten Brethren came from Bethlehem and bore his body to its rest. His tombstone bears the following inscription:

¹⁴⁰ Henry Antes was married in 1726 to Christina Dewees, a daughter of William Dewees, the leading member of the Reformed Church of White Marsh. They had eleven children, of whom three died in childhood. Six of these children were baptized by Boehm, three by Spangenberg, and in two instances the name of the officiating minister does not appear on the record. The family record, with notes, was published by I. D. Rupp, in June, 1872, in the *Reformed Church Messenger*. The surviving sons became eminent men. See "On the Frontier with Col. Antes," by E. McMinn, 1900. A daughter, Elizabeth, was the wife of the Rev. Nicholas Pomp, of the Reformed Church.

¹⁴¹ For accounts of his later years see Harbaugh, Reichel, McMinn and others.

¹⁴² At the same time we do not doubt that Antes regarded himself as a member of the Reformed Church. L. T. Reichel says: "Zinzendorf never so much as thought of separating from the Lutheran Church, to which he had from his youth been devoted with pure affection." *Kirchenfreund*, I., p. 93. In a similar sense we may say that Antes never thought of changing his confession of faith, but remained to the end "the pious Reformed man of Frederick township."

Hier ruhet
 Heinrich Antes :
 Ein Kleinod dieses Landes ;
 Ein redlich kühner
 Handhaber der Gerechtigkeit
 Und treuer Diener
 Vor Welt und Gottes Leut.
 Entschlief
 In Friedrichs-Town den 20 Julii
 1755
 Seines alters 54 Jahr.

The epitaph may be translated, though it loses its beauty in translation :

Here rests
 Henry Antes
 An Ornament of this Land ;
 An upright, fearless
 Administrator of Justice,
 and a faithful servant
 Before the world's and God's people.
 Fell asleep
 In Frederick-Town July 20
 1755
 Aged 54 years.

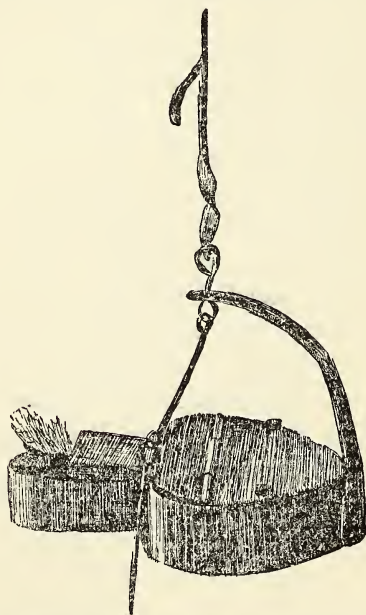
“ The congregation of God in the Spirit ” was continued after the seven early conferences in a somewhat different form. There was a series of General Synods of Pennsylvania which, after Zinzendorf's return to Europe, were organized and directed by Spangenberg. These synods

ordinarily met every three months. Though the minor sects were no longer represented, there was a Lutheran *consistorium* and a Reformed *collegium*, besides the general meeting of the Brethren. The Reformed *collegium* was organized at the 15th meeting of the synod; and at the 17th meeting it was resolved that the Lutheran and Reformed ministers shall mutually have the privilege of attending each other's meetings, though without the right of voting. The Reformed organization seems to have drawn to it certain English elements which may have been originally Presbyterian. In the extant minutes of this body, held in Philadelphia, August 12, 1746, it is stated that there were present three ordained Reformed ministers, one ordained English preacher, three unordained English preachers, and seventeen elders and deacons.¹⁴³ In this connection we find the names of Utley and D. Bruce, who are called Reformed ministers, though they are not known in the history of the German church. After Schlatter had founded the *Coetus*, Reichel tells us, the Reformed collegium naturally dissolved, and "the Reformed churches which had been served by Brethren either joined the *Unitas* or their members were scattered among other congregations." The church of the Brethren had also become more consolidated, and had organized its ministry in three orders, as had hitherto been usual only in Europe. It felt an earnest call to the work of foreign missions and was therefore more willing to retire from a task which had now been taken up by others. The twenty-eighth synod of the "Congregation," held at Bethlehem, October 23-27, 1748, accordingly became the first synod of the *Unitas Fratrum* in America. After this date a few Lutheran and Reformed ministers continued for several years to attend

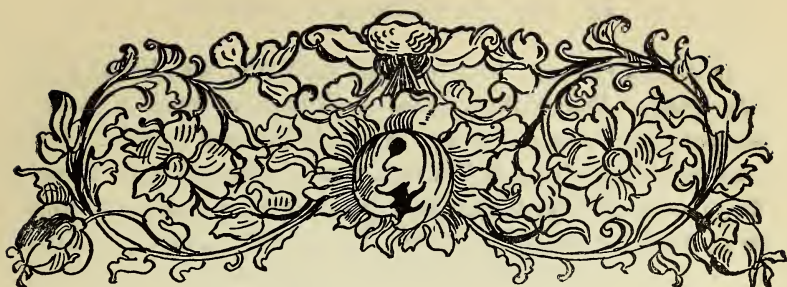
¹⁴³ L. T. Reichel in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, II., 103.

the synods as visitors, but the organization was completely Moravian.

The first period in the American history of the German Reformed Church had now ended, and the second was about to begin. There had been much confusion, but there were also many examples of self-sacrificing devotion. The highest ideals of the pioneers had not been attained; but their labors had left a permanent impression on the life and character of the Church.



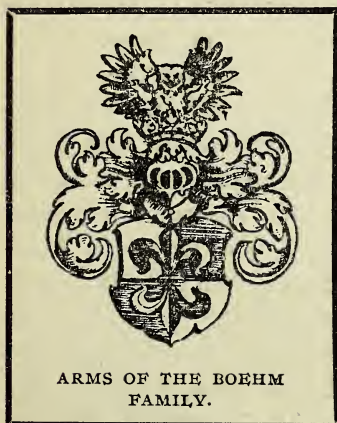
FETT AMPEL, SUCH AS USED BY THE EARLY GERMANS IN
LANCASTER COUNTY.



CHAPTER X.

SCHLATTER AND HIS MISSION.

St. Gall—Schlatter's Early Life—Mission to America—Extensive Journeys—Founding of Coetus—Two Voyages to Europe—Charity Schools—Later Years.



THE city of St. Gall, the capital of the Swiss canton of the same name, is one of the most interesting cities in Europe. No other town of any importance occupies so high an elevation among the mountains. Though still surrounded by ancient walls it has recently become a manufacturing center of no mean importance. During the

Middle Ages it was celebrated all over Europe as the seat of a Benedictine abbey—founded in the seventh century by the Scotch monk Gallus—but in the days of the Reformation the town became Protestant, and its monastic institution gradually declined, so that in 1805 it was entirely suppressed.

It was in this city that Michael Schlatter was born, July 14, 1716. His father, Paulus Schlatter, was a book-keeper, but belonged to an old and influential family. His mother, Magdalena Zollikofer, was descended from a distinguished family, which had produced a number of eminent ministers and devotional authors.¹⁴⁴ Closely related were the Stähelins, Wegelins and other families which held a prominent position in church and state.

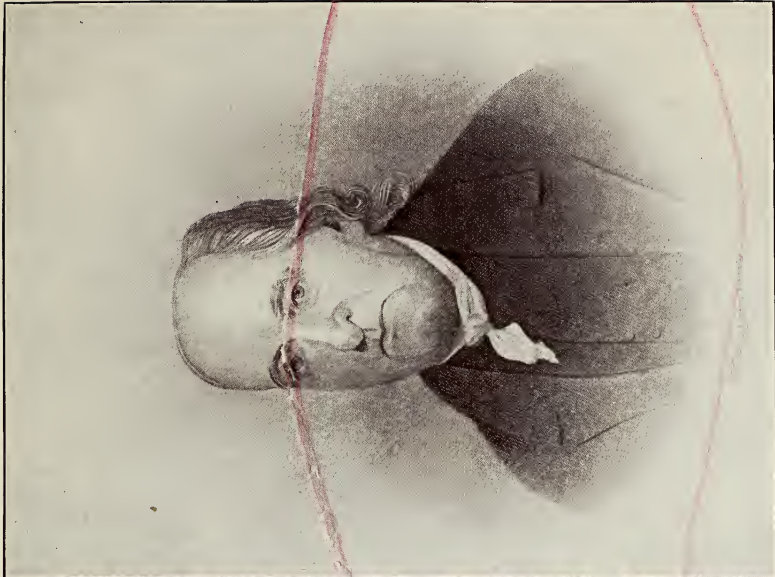
Concerning Michael Schlatter's youth little is known. He was a vigorous son of the mountains, and may have found it difficult to discover an outlet for his superfluous energy. Having for some time attended the gymnasium of his native place he received special instructions from Professor Wegelin; but he was of a restless, roving disposition, and finally without the knowledge of his parents he went to Holland where the family had relatives. Here he learned the Dutch language, and was on the 27th of Dec., 1736, matriculated at the University of Leyden. Subsequently he went to Helmstadt in Brunswick, and probably studied in the university of that place. He travelled for some time in the company of a Mr. Huerner, of Berne, but in 1739 we find him again in St. Gall where on April 10th he was examined for the ministry and duly licensed. Then he went to Holland and served for some time as a private tutor. He returned to Switzerland in 1744 and became *vicarius* at Wigoldingen in the canton of Thurgau, where he was no doubt ordained. On August 17, 1745, he was appointed Sunday-evening preacher at Linsebuehl, a

¹⁴⁴ Casper Zollikofer (born 1707) and George Joachim Zollikofer (1730-1788) were the authors of many popular hymns. The latter was pastor of the Reformed Church of Leipsic, and was regarded as the foremost preacher in Germany. Two prayer-books, published by members of the family, are still in popular use.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



REV. MICHAEL SCHLATTER.



REV. W. OTTERBEIM.



suburb of his native city of St. Gall. The position was as unpromising as can well be imagined.

On January 9, 1746, Schlatter—without saying much to any one—left St. Gall and started on another journey to Holland. It is said, on the authority of a Holland document, that he had learned that the church in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was vacant, and that at first he proposed to offer himself for that pastorate.¹⁴⁵ At Heidelberg he was cordially received and recommended to the Synod of Holland for the work in Pennsylvania. After a difficult journey through the snows of a severe winter he arrived at the Hague in March, 1746.

For eighteen years the church of Holland had been directly interested in the German Churches of Pennsylvania, but circumstances had hitherto prevented the accomplishment of the plans which had been proposed for their advantage. Dr. Good has shown how two currents had met in Holland in 1728, influencing the Dutch Church to care for the Reformed colonists in Pennsylvania. One of these was derived from the petition of John Philip Boehm for ordination; the other came from the report of George Michael Weiss which called the attention of the Palatine consistory to the sad condition of their countrymen in Pennsylvania, and induced them to appeal in their behalf to the Synod of South Holland. To this might be added the fact that the sufferings of the exiled Palatines were still fresh in the memory of the people of Holland. They had not forgotten the days when thousands of innocent fugitives from French invasion had found a temporary refuge in the Netherlands on their way to a foreign land.

The Hollanders had always been celebrated for their

¹⁴⁵ Article in the *Reformed Church Messenger* for Oct. 25, 1900, by the Rev. George Merle de Fere Zacharias.

liberality. When Louis XIV. invaded the Netherlands he said : "I am afraid God will not suffer me to conquer that country ; the people are so generous that He will surely protect them." Holland, we know, was in those days the greatest commercial nation in the world ; but we are apt to forget that its missionary work extended as far as its flag was known. The Church of Holland appears to have been the first to appreciate the fact that Christian work should be performed with at least as much earnestness and direct-



HOLLAND ESCUTCHEON.

ness as is manifested by successful merchants in the transaction of their ordinary business. If the churches of Pennsylvania were to receive aid, the work of relieving them must become a branch of the missionary activity that centered in Holland, and must be conducted according to the somewhat formal methods which were already employed in the Dutch colonial churches.

There were, it is true, certain difficulties which at first sight appeared to be almost insurmountable. The Germans of Pennsylvania were not of Holland speech or nationality; they had not been trained to acknowledge the national confessions of the Netherlands, and it would require much labor to bring them into full accord with their new ecclesiastical relations. What was needed was a man who could speak the language of both nationalities; who was willing to be the confidential agent of the Dutch synods, and might serve as a personal link between the old world and the new.

It is at this point that Michael Schlatter appears upon the scene. He had heard of the destitution of the churches of Pennsylvania, and from the depth of his soul he cried: "Here am I, send me!" His qualifications for the work were unmistakable. He had been educated in Holland and was supposed to be orthodox according to Dutch standards; he spoke the languages of Holland and Germany with equal fluency; and was withal a republican Swiss who might be expected to conform most readily to the customs of a country where royalty was practically unknown. Hence we are not surprised that when Schlatter appeared before the Dutch synod there was a general feeling that the hour and the man had come. His service was accepted and he at once received the necessary instructions for his momentous mission.

These instructions were plain and unmistakable. In a slightly abbreviated form they were as follows:

1. He was to visit the different settlements; to organize churches where this had not been done; to ordain elders and deacons and prepare proper church records.
2. He was to ascertain what amount each congregation could give towards the support of a settled pastor, and to

organize the scattered congregations into convenient charges.

3. To visit the ministers already in the field, and induce them to unite in the organization of a Coetus or Synod, for the oversight of all the churches.

4. To pay annual visits to ministers and consistories; to promote harmony between them; to see that salaries were promptly paid, and to report regularly to the Church of Holland; and finally,

5. When this work was accomplished to preach for other pastors, as he might be invited, having an eye also to such destitute points as might come to his knowledge.

All this seems like a large order, but Schlatter did not shrink from what it involved. He seems to have been as ready to start on his journey as the clerk of some great commercial house would have been if he had been ordered to report in Sumatra or Borneo. His instructions were dated on the 23d of May, 1746, and on the first of June—nine days later—he set sail for America. There was no loitering by the way, no elaborate preparations, no long visits to be paid to friends; he simply went at once where duty called him. Like St. Paul he might have said: “This one thing I do!”

The public career of Michael Schlatter is full of illustrations of his extraordinary energy. He landed in Boston after a dangerous voyage on August 1, 1746, where he was cordially entertained by an eminent Dutch merchant, the Hon. I. Wendell—an ancestor of the poet Oliver Wendell Holmes—but without lingering an unnecessary hour he bought a horse and rode to New York. Here he stayed just long enough to pay his respects to the Dutch “dominies,” and then he was off for Philadelphia. On the evening of his arrival he held a consultation with

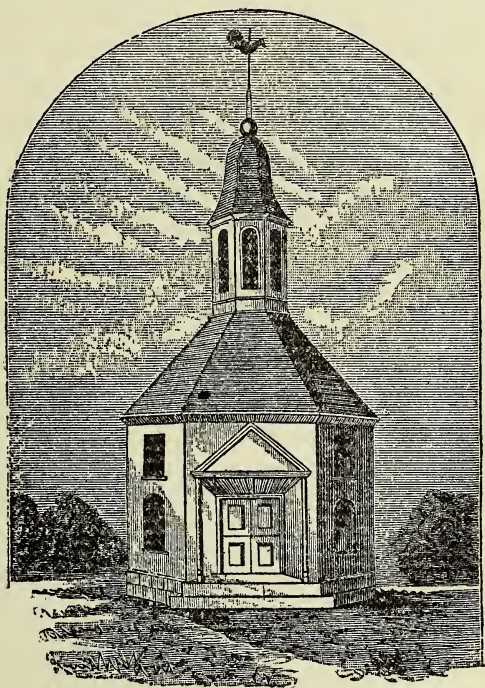
the officers of the Church, and next morning rode out to Whitpain, in Montgomery County, to visit the Rev. John Philip Boehm, the oldest Reformed minister in America. The following may serve as an illustration of his restless activity: On the 18th of September he preached in Philadelphia and Germantown, and induced both congregations to accede to the plans of the Fathers in Holland; next day he rode to Old Goshenhoppen, in Montgomery County, where he preached on the following day for the Rev. George Michael Weiss. On Wednesday he went to Skippack on a financial mission, and next day to Oley, Berks County; thence next day to Tulpehocken, in what is now Lebanon County, a distance of 29 miles, where he administered the communion; next day to Lancaster, to preach on the following day; and immediately after the sermon started for Philadelphia, where he arrived on the 26th and preached for the congregation of which he had now been chosen pastor. All this, it will be observed, was done in little more than a week, but it was actually one of his least extensive journeys. In April, 1747, he journeyed by way of Lancaster and York to the churches at and near Hagerstown (Conococheague) and Frederick (Monocacy) in Maryland, a trip which required about two weeks. In the same year he made four other extensive missionary journeys, and everywhere he was most cordially received. His most extensive journey was made in 1748, when he explored the field in Maryland and far down into the valley of Virginia. These were difficult and dangerous expeditions, and we are told in his "Diary" how he made his way by rude bridle-paths from one settlement to another—crossing the Susquehanna in a freshet, encountering "rough and wild wildernesses," and at one time terrified by a "fearful rattlesnake." Hardly less interesting, though

DER
 IN DER AMERICANI-
 SCHEN WILDNUSZ
 Inter Menschen von verschiedenen
 Nationen und Religionen
 Hin und wieder herum Wandelte
 Und verschiedentlich Angefochtene
PREDIGER,
 Abgemahlet und vorgestellt
 In einem Gespraech mit Einem
Politico und Newsgerehen,
 Verschiedene Stuck insonderheit
 Die *Neugeburt* betreffende,
 Verfertigt, und zu Beforderung der Ehr
J E S U
 Selbst aus eigener Erfahrung an das
Licht gebracht

Von Georg Michael Weiss V. D. M.

Zu PHILADELPHIA:
 Gedruckt bey Andrew Bradford; 1729.

less laborious, were his journeys through New Jersey when he visited Amwell, Fox Hill, Rockaway and other German settlements, until he reached the borders of the Dutch Church at the upper end of the German Valley. If his successors in this region had manifested a tithe of his energy the Reformed denomination might have a hundred



REFORMED CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

churches where now she has not one. Everywhere the people received him gladly, and he organized many congregations. He moved rapidly, but generally succeeded in accomplishing the work which he had been sent to do. He must have had good horses, for we are told that he frequently rode sixty miles in a single day.

In accordance with the instructions which he had received from Holland he proceeded to organize the scattered congregations into regular charges. Of course, where pastors were already in the field he simply recognized existing arrangements. There were also congregations which he could not reach, and the "lopers" opposed him bitterly; but it was no small matter that he succeeded in organizing forty-six Reformed congregations into sixteen regular charges. These charges are thus enumerated in his report to the Classis of Amsterdam:¹⁴⁶

1. The first charge is Philadelphia and Germantown. This has been served by myself since 1747.

2. Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp. These have been served since 1746 by Mr. George Michael Weiss.

3. Falkner Swamp and Providence. Here Mr. John Philip Leydich has been located since 1748.

4. Skippack, Witpen, Indian Creek and Tohickon. These are as yet without a pastor.

5. Lancaster and Schaeffer's church. The first of these is still vacant, and the second is served by Mr. John Barthol. Rieger, M.D.

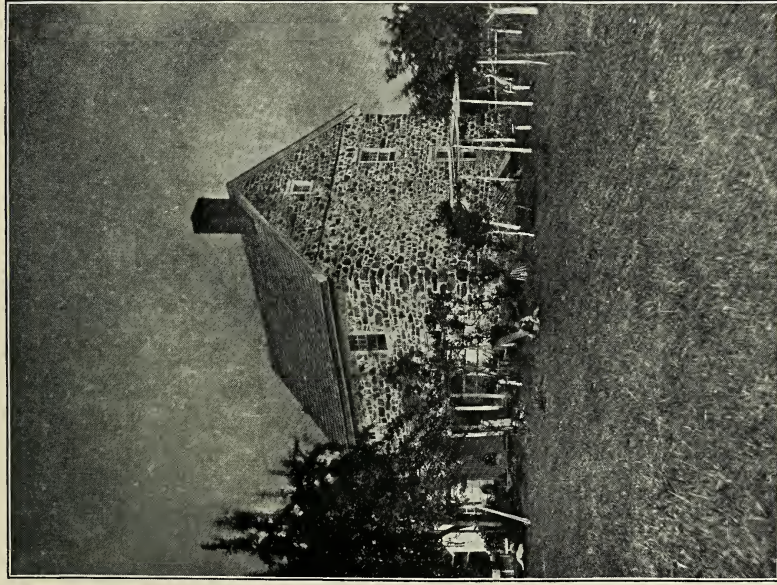
6. Yorktown, Kreutz Creek, Conewago and Bramutschy (Bermudian). In these churches Mr. Jacob Lischy has successfully labored since 1749.

7. Tulpehocken. Here Mr. Dominicus Bartholomaeus has conducted the sacred service since 1748. He is generally ill.

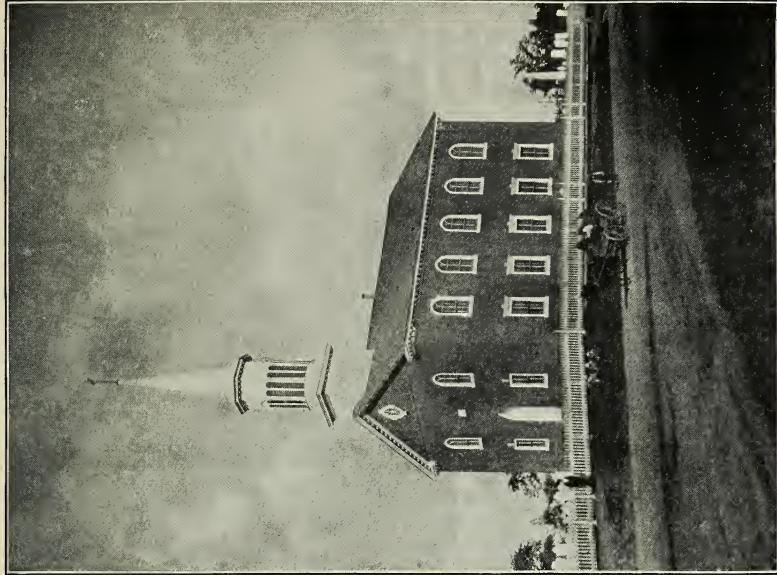
8. Weisseichenland (White Oak), Mode Creek, Cocalico, and Zeltenreich. These seek a minister with burning desire.

¹⁴⁶ See Fresenius' "Pastoral Sammlungen," 11th part, p. 317. Also Harbaugh's "Life of Schlatter," p. 203.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



OLD PARSONAGE AT FALKNER SWAMP.
BIRTHPLACE OF THE LATE GOV. HARRIS.



FALKNER SWAMP REFORMED CHURCH.

9. Donegal, Swatara and Quitopehilla. These also implore earnestly for a minister.

10. Northampton and Southampton. These churches have been supplied since 1751 by Du Bois, a Low Dutch *Proponent*.

11. Great Lehigh, Little Lehigh, Forks of Delaware, Saucon and Springfield.

12. Heidelberg, Egypt and Jordan. These are without a regular minister.

13. Magunchy, Allemängel, Schmaltzgass, and Manatawny. These also long most earnestly for a faithful guide.

All these are congregations in Pennsylvania. To these must yet be added the congregations in Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey.

14. The charge in Virginia consists of Shenandoah, Misanotti, South Branch, and New Germantown. These have for many years had no regular minister. They are the most remote congregations and languish from longing for spiritual food.

15. The congregations in Maryland are Monocacy and Conagogee. Here also there is great hunger for the word of God, and there is no one regularly to provide it for them.

16. The congregations in New Jersey are Rockaway and Fox Hill. They implore earnestly that God may at length send forth a faithful laborer into this harvest.

The above list includes forty-six congregations which Schlatter says he had visited. He does not claim to have mentioned all the churches; for he explicitly says: "Besides these there are different others in Oley and other places which are not included in this list." Indeed, it does not appear that Schlatter attempted to enumerate even

those congregations which were to be included in the several charges; all he desired to do was to indicate these charges with sufficient clearness. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that after so many years we are in almost every instance able to recognize the churches which he mentions, though in several instances there may now be a question of priority between neighboring congregations.

Sixteen charges had now been organized, but Schlatter's main purpose was to mould them into a harmonious whole.



SEAL OF GERMANTOWN.

There had been much disagreement between the pastors who were already in the field, but Schlatter succeeded in bringing Boehm, Weiss and Rieger together for the first time at a preliminary meeting held in Philadelphia, October 12, 1746, where "articles of peace" were drawn up. How happy he must have felt when

his most important plan proved successful, and, on the 29th of September, 1747, the first Coetus convened in the old church in Philadelphia! It was a small convention—consisting of 31 delegates, of whom but four were ministers; but it was the beginning of a series of meetings which is still unbroken.

The minutes of the first Coetus contain a list of the delegates who were present at this meeting. It may be interesting to reproduce this list, especially on account of the numerous descendants of these delegates:

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Philadelphia and Germantown:

Michael Schlatter, V. D. Min. et p. t. Praeses.

Daniel Bouton, John Gaul, Christopher Meng, and Paulus Geissel.

Falkner Swamp, Providence and Whitpain Townships:

John Philip Boehm, V. D. M.

Frederick Reimer, Conrad Reibel and Johannes Herpel and Michael Klein.

Old and New Goshenhoppen, Great Swamp:

George Michael Weiss, V. D. M.

Christian Schneider and Daniel Hister, Johannes Huth and Philip Ried, Johann Huber and Nicol Montbauer.¹⁴⁷

Schaeffer's Church and Earltown in Conestoga:

John Barthol. Rieger, V. D. M.

Michael Weidler, Philip Rank.

Lancaster:

Vacant.

Tulpehocken:

Johannes Stein, Valentine Unruh.

Skippack:

Jacob Arnet, Peter Speyker.

Indian Field:

Michael Berger, Frederick Zöllner.

Springfield:

Christian Schugg.

Blue Mountain and Egypt:

Abraham Wotring, Peter Kocher.

Little Lehigh:

Heinrich Roth.

Saucon, at Herzel's:

Antonius Lerch.

¹⁴⁷ Probably Mombauer.

Yorktown:

Caspar Spengler.¹⁴⁸

With the establishment of the Coetus the first part of Schlatter's mission might be said to be fulfilled. In the meantime he had, however, accomplished minor purposes which must not be ignored. Within a few months of his arrival he had settled the Reiff case, and had recovered 900 florins (about \$360) for the benefit of the church. The settlement was in some respects the cutting of a Gordian knot, and was fiercely criticised; but it removed an obstacle from his work, and was probably the wisest thing that could have been done under the circumstances. He maintained a close correspondence not only with Holland, but with the Dutch ministers in New York; and sought to extend the influence of the Coetus, though in the strictest accordance with the letter of his instructions. His relations to other denominations were most amicable; and his intimate friendship with the Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg, of the Lutheran Church, was greatly to the credit of both these eminent men.

Mühlenberg proposed to call Schlatter "Inspector," but he declined the title. He was at most a *Visitator Ecclesiarum*—an official visitor of the churches—and he never claimed any other position. In his relations with the churches it was, however, necessary to assume a certain authority, and this fact led to opposition among his own people. His letters were formal, and he was apt to drop into legal phraseology. Though it is impossible to speak

¹⁴⁸ It would not be difficult to trace the descendants of many of these "original" elders and deacons. Schlatter and Boehm have many descendants. Rev. J. Spangler Kieffer, D.D., of Hagerstown, Md., is, we believe, descended from Caspar Spengler, of York; Rev. Wallace H. Wotring, of Nazareth, Pa., from Abraham Wotring, of Egypt; and the present writer is descended in the fifth generation from Antonius Lerch, of Saucon.

with confidence on such a subject, it seems as if a little geniality might have increased his influence.

When Schlatter came to America, in 1746, the Reformed Church of Philadelphia was under the pastorate of the Rev. John Philip Boehm. The latter was, however, old and feeble, and gladly made room for Schlatter, whom the people desired to call. Schlatter accepted the charge, but for the first year he declined to accept a salary "because he desired to prove to them the sincerity of his purposes"—possibly also because he was frequently absent on

*Mich. Schlatter —
Eccl. & Christ. calligitor Philadelphia
in America Pastor.*

missionary journeys and could not fully attend to his work at home. When at last the congregation presented him with a formal call it was found that they insisted on an annual pastoral election. They did not want a permanent pastor, and claimed the liberty of calling and discharging their preachers as they pleased.

On this point Schlatter would not yield and the result was a long and bitter conflict. The trouble was increased by the arrival on the 29th of September, 1749, of the Rev. John Conrad Steiner¹⁴⁹ who allowed himself to be chosen to the

¹⁴⁹ John Conrad Steiner, born at Winterthur, Switzerland, Jan. 1, 1707; died, Philadelphia, July 6, 1762. He had been pastor in Europe of several congregations, and had published a large volume of sermons, entitled "Geschrey un Mitternacht." Having come to America with proper credentials from the synods of Holland he was assigned to the church of Lancaster, but he seems to have been attracted by the prospect of becoming pastor of a large congregation in Philadelphia. He preached to a part of the latter congregation until 1751, and remained pastor at Germantown until 1756. For three years he was pastor at Frederick, Md., where he did excellent work. In 1759 he returned to Philadelphia, where the parties had in the meantime united. A second volume of his sermons was published after his death.

pastorate by the party opposed to Schlatter. Steiner was a splendid orator, but his course under the circumstances was plainly irregular. Schlatter would not yield, though for a time the majority was against him; but at last the matter was legally decided in his favor. It is not necessary to enter into the particulars of this conflict; but it seems to have determined the permanence of the pastorate in the Reformed churches.

Schlatter seems to have been gifted beyond most of his cotemporaries with what may be called prophetic insight into the wants of the Church of the future. In his early journeys he had become convinced that his labors would be in vain unless he could succeed in inducing a number of ordained ministers to come from Europe to supply the vacant fields. Several ministers had, indeed, arrived since he began his work, but in two instances, at least, their coming had been accompanied by misfortune. On the 13th of August, 1748, Dominicus Bartholomaeus and John Jacob Hochreutiner arrived in Philadelphia; and though their coming awakened great hopes it proved a disappointment. Bartholomaeus was pastor at Tulpehocken, but within a year he became an invalid, and for many years appropriations were made in his behalf. Hochreutiner had been called to Lancaster, but on the morning of Oct. 13, 1748, when he proposed to start for his field he attempted to unload a gun which he had brought from the fatherland and by its accidental discharge he was instantly killed. This was a great personal grief to Schlatter, as the young man belonged to a family of St. Gall with which he was intimately acquainted and had in some sense been placed under his personal care. The sermon which he expected to preach in Lancaster was found in his pocket after his death, and was published by Schlatter

with an historical introduction. It was appropriately entitled "Schwanen Gesang."

A copy of this book in the Philadelphia Library was transcribed by Mr. H. S. Dotterer, and was translated and published by the present writer in the *Reformed Church Quarterly*, entitled "The Song of the Swan."

Schwanen Gesang
Oder
Letzte Arbeit,

Des
Weiland Ehrwürdigen und Hochgelehrten

H E N N

Johann Jacob Hochreutner
Bestimmten Prediger

Der

Ehrsamen Reformierten Gemeinde
zu Lancaster,

Welcher

Auf eine außerordentliche Weise nach Gottes allweiser
Zulassung durch einen Bischen-Schuß aus dem Zeitlichen in das ewige Leben
den 14. October 1748. im 27ten Jahr seines Alters hingerückt wurde,

Zum Trost der betrüben Gemeinde in Lancaster zu dem Druck befördert
und mit einer Zuschrift versehen

Von

Michael Glatter, V. D. M. zu St. Gallen in der Schweiz,
gegenwärtig Reform. Prediger in Philadelphia und Germantown
in Pennsylvanien.

Philadelphia/ gedruckt bey Johann Böhm, wohnhaft in der Arch-Straße, 1749.

More hopeful and cheering was the arrival, September 15, 1748, of the Rev. John Philip Leydich,¹⁵¹ who was for many years a faithful and unpretentious laborer. He

¹⁵¹ John Philip Leydich, born April 28, 1715, at Girkhausen in Westphalia, where his father was pastor; died in Montgomery County, Pa., Jan. 4, 1784. He was sent to America by the Synod of South Holland, and brought with him his wife and two children. In eastern Pennsylvania he has many descendants.

was appointed pastor at Falkner Swamp and Providence, and remained in that region to the end of his life. He was the first pastor at Pottstown, and is also said to have founded the churches at Saltzburg and Upper Milford, in Lehigh County. In every respect he was an excellent man.

It was evident that with the arrival of these men—to whom Steiner must be added—the necessities of the Church had not been fully met. More pastors were absolutely needed, and at the request of the Coetus, Schlatter undertook personally to present the necessities of the American churches to their brethren in Europe. On the 5th of Feb., 1751, he sailed from New Castle on this eventful journey. It was in the dead of winter, but in his report he has nothing to say about the terrors of the way; there is a word of thanksgiving with heart and lips, but that is all.

Schlatter was enthusiastically received by the Classis of Amsterdam and the deputies of the Synods of Holland, and the results of his mission were marvellous. In one year he wrote and published his "Appeal," visited many conferences in Holland, Germany and Switzerland, and collected 500 Bibles and other good books, induced six young ministers to accompany him to America, and secured the collection of a large sum of money for the destitute churches of Pennsylvania. The amount of money contributed at various times by the Church of Holland has been variously estimated, and can hardly be accurately determined. Mühlenberg's statement¹⁵² that "a sum of £12,000 was collected in Holland and put at interest for the support of American pastors and teachers" is now generally believed to have been based on imperfect information.

¹⁵² "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., II., p. 57.

GETROUW VERHAAL

VAN DEN WAREN TOESTANT

DER MEEST HERDERLOZE

G E M E E N T E N S

IN PENSYLVANIEN

En aangrensende Provincien,
VOORGESTELT EN OPGEDRAGEN,
met nêrig verzoek om hulpe en bystand,

A A N

De H. Eerw. Christelyke SYNODENS

V A N

N E D E R L A N D,

E N V O O R T S

AAN ALLE MILDDADIGE CHRISTENEN,

D O O R

MICHAEL SCHLATTER,

Predikant te PHILADELPHIA.

MET-ENE AANPRYZENDE

V O O R R E D E

V A N D E

GECOMMITTEERDE DES CLASSIS

Van AMSTELDAM.



T A M S T E L D A M,

By J A C O B U S L O V E R I N G H,

Boekverkoper voor aan op den Nieuwendyk. 1751.

Prof. Hinke informs us¹⁵³ that the States of Holland and West Friesland contributed 2,000 florins for five years, and that this gift was three times renewed. There were special funds under the control of the Synodical Deputies and the Classis of Amsterdam, amounting together to 23,500 florins. It is also asserted that special collections were taken up in the Dutch churches, and how much Schlatter received in personal contributions we have no present means of ascertaining. It is, however, evident from the amount of the annual subsidies, which were sent to America for nearly forty years, that the amount was not as large as has been generally supposed.¹⁵⁴ There can, however, be no doubt that the gifts of the Church of Holland, including the subsidies of the Dutch government, enabled the early Reformed pastor in Pennsylvania to persevere in their important work.

Schlatter was gifted with almost prophetic insight into the wants of the Church of the future. In all his labors he had a double purpose. His first object was to labor in behalf of the Church; the second was to provide for the education of the children. In his "Appeal" he exclaims: "I plead for the few ministers who are now in this country, and for those who may yet be able to come to their brethren and fellow laborers. * * * They have cheerfully set aside personal gain and advantage; they seek not to heap up treasures; let not your brotherly love permit them to languish under this heavy labor for the want of fellow laborers * * * nor let them be compelled to waste their precious time in digging and plowing the fields

¹⁵³ "The Pennsylvania-German," Oct., 1900.

¹⁵⁴ The amount of contributions actually sent to America, according to Professor Hinke, was 35,063 florins, or about \$14,025 in American money. This, however, does not include the sums expended in paying the traveling expenses of missionaries.

VERSCHULDIGD DANK-ADRES

A A N D E

EDELE GROOT MOGENDE HEEREN STAATES
VAN HOLLAND EN WEST-VRIESLAND,

A A N D E

Corresponderende Christelyke SYNODEN, CLASSEN
en KERKENRADEN der Vereenigde

P R O V I N T I E N,

EN AAN ALLE

Liefdadige WELDOENDERS, die zich, zeer tederhartig, der
zaak van de GEREFORMEERDE GEMEENTEN in PENSYL-
VANIEN, voor het meerdere gedeelte uit HOOGDUITSCH-
EMIGRANTEN bestaande, hebben aangenomen, en der-
zelver welstand, door hunne zeer Edelmoedige en milde
LIEFDEGAVEN, helpen bevorderen:

Streckende met een tot nodig BERICHT, hoe, tot welke eindens,
en met welk gevolg, de ruime giften der Edelmoedige WEL-
DOENDERS besteedt zyn, en wat 'er van den tegen-
woordigen STAAT dier GEMEENTEN zy;

Dienende teffens, om REKENSCHAP te geven van het
geen 'er zedert enige jaren in deze zaak gedaan is, en
om de LIEFDADIGHEID verder op te wakkeren;

O P G E S T E L T

DOOR DE

DEPUTATEN DER ZUID- EN NOORD-HOLLANDSCHE
SYNODEN, EN DE GEKOMMITTEERDEN DER
CLASSIS VAN AMSTERDAM.



T E A M S T E R D A M,

By J A C O B U S L O V E R I N G H,

Boekverkooper voor aan-op den Nieuwendyk, 1758.

which they desire to spend in the vineyard of the Lord."

This was well said, but it had been said before. It is only when we come to the second part of his "Appeal," that we see how the curtain of the future was raised to his vision. The adult members of the Church had been taught in Europe, and many had brought with them their Bibles and Liturgies, and might be supposed to have retained a part, at least, of the instruction which they had received in their childhood. But what was to become of the children? "If there are no schools," Schlatter sadly exclaims, "will not the children become like the pagan aborigines, so that neither book nor writing will be found among them?"

Schlatter's enthusiasm was contagious; and the Rev. David Thomson, pastor of the English Church at Amsterdam, determined to go to England to plead for the establishment of schools among the Germans of Pennsylvania. He was everywhere kindly received. The king of England gave a personal contribution of £1,000, and the Church of Scotland ordered a collection which yielded £1,140. The sum collected was very large, though it seems certain that it did not nearly reach £20,000, as Mühlenberg supposed. In seeking to awaken the interest of the English people the Germans of Pennsylvania were, however, shamefully misrepresented. Though they had established a school whenever they built a church, their educational efforts were entirely ignored, and the people of England were led to believe that in America the Germans were fast becoming "like unto wood-born savages." Schlatter was afterwards blamed for these misrepresentations; but the fact is that he had nothing to do with them.

Circular-Schreiben
der Vereinigten
Reformirten Prediger
in Pennsylvanien,
an dasige sämtliche nach Gottes Wort
Reformirte Gemeinden:

Darin sie kürzlich darlegen,

Wie der Große Jehova die von Er. Ehrw.

MICHAEL SLATTER, V. D. M.

an unsere

Hochw. Christl. Kirchenväter
übernommene Commission zu ihrer Rettung und Hülfe,
in Gnaden gesegnet:

Und

Wie solches von sothanen Gemeinden sollte gebührend erkannt, mit Dank-
sagung angenommen, und recht gebraucht, ja, zum Lobe Gottes
und dem Heil ihrer unsterblichen Seelen angewandt werden.

Zu

Allgemeiner Nachricht

herausgegeben von

GEORG MICHAEL WEISS.

JOH. PHIL. LEYDICH.

JACOB LISCHY.

PHILADELPHIA, Gedruckt bey H. Müller und S. Hollands, 1752.

PASTORAL LETTER. (Courtesy of Professor Hinke.)

Schlatter arrived in America with six ministers in July, 1752. These ministers were young men. Five of them were graduates of the University of Herborn and one of Marburg. Their names were : Philip William Otterbein, John Jacob Wissler, John Waldschmidt, Theodore Frankenfeld, Henry William Stoy and John Caspar Rubel. The three first mentioned came from Dillenberg, in Nassau ; Frankenfeld and Stoy were natives of Herborn ; and Rubel of Wald, in the duchy of Berg. These men, though differing greatly in disposition, became men of great influence in the American Church. Mühlenberg incidentally gives us some idea of their appearance on their arrival, each one carrying a long staff. He greeted them most cordially, and appropriately addressed them in the words of Scripture : “ Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves ; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves.”

Soon after Schlatter's return the troubles in the congregation in Philadelphia began anew. Before he went to Europe he had promised the people that he would not interfere with any arrangements they might make concerning the pastorate ; but though earlier difficulties had been removed, the congregation had not succeeded in securing a regular pastor. Now that a number of young ministers had arrived they wanted one of them ; and after hearing them all they elected Rubel. Schlatter was greatly pained and with the assistance of a company of his friends raised a disturbance which spread beyond the congregation and even led to a division in the Coetus, which fortunately continued but a single year. Rubel had already shown himself “ rebellious,” and his later history is not to his credit ; but it must also be confessed that the position of Schlatter in this second contest is not to be defended. Indeed, we

Wächter = Stimm
Aus dem verwüsteten Reformirten
Zion in Pensylvanien
An dessen
Lehrer und Wächter
ins besonder,
und
Das gesamte Volk
ins gemein:

In gebundener Rede abgefasst
Und aus Treuem einfältigem Herzen
Schriftlich mitgetheilt.

(Gott gebe zu vieler heilsamen Erweckung
Und Heiligung des Volkes einen Glanz, &
Die Reformirten auch.)

Von
Johann Conrad Steiner
Reformirtem Prediger in Germanton.

Germanton / Gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer 1752

can hardly resist the conclusion that, with his superabundant energy, he imagined that he could do everything at once and do it well. His purposes were exalted; but he seems not to have fully realized that a minister must never venture to make his pastorate a secondary employment. Rubel was called to New York, and Schlatter was made to feel that his work in Philadelphia was ended.¹⁵⁵

In the meantime, however, Schlatter had become profoundly interested in the English movement for the establishment of schools. For the purpose of advancing this movement, and explaining misunderstandings with regard to the Coetus, he made another voyage to Holland, arriving there in March, 1754. His reception by the Deputies appears not to have been very encouraging, and when they learned that he had been appointed superintendent of the proposed schools they not only granted their permission but actually dismissed him from the Coetus. It seems to have been a somewhat high-handed proceeding, but the "Fathers" were inflexible. Schlatter returned to America with a heavy heart, and at once reported to the Coetus. The ministers were unwilling to see him leave them, and pleaded earnestly in his behalf; but the authorities in Holland insisted that their commands must be obeyed, and the work of Schlatter in the Reformed church was practi-

¹⁵⁵ After the withdrawal of Schlatter and Rubel the congregation was served for about a year by the Rev. William Stoy. On his removal the Rev. J. C. Steiner was called a second time and was much more successful than he had been in his former pastorate. After his death, in 1762, the church fell into the hands of an independent minister, the Rev. Frederick Rothenbühler, a native of Switzerland, who did not conduct himself well. When he was discharged he organized an independent congregation, which built a church on Fourth Street, below New, called St. George's. As the congregation was unable to pay for this building it was sold in 1770 to the Methodists. It is said to have been the earliest organization of the Methodist Church in Philadelphia.

cally concluded. In 1755 he for the last time attended a meeting of the Coetus.

Schlatter became the first Superintendent of Public Schools in Pennsylvania. He undertook the work with his usual energy, but the difficulties which confronted him were insuperable. The management of the schools was placed in the hands of trustees representing the colonial gentry, and when they rode about in their coaches to visit the schools they certainly did not do much to conciliate the recipients of their bounty. The purpose of the charity was admirable, but its administration had all the offensive peculiarities of British officialism during the colonial period.

The Germans, on the other hand, were well aware of what had been said and written about them in England, and were prejudiced against the work from its beginning. Their opposition was increased by the articles of Christopher Saur in his influential paper, intimating among other things that the purpose of the movement was to prepare the way for the establishment of the Church of England. Saur seems even to have gone so far as to invite Zubly—a Reformed minister in South Carolina—to assume the direction of a rival movement for the establishment of schools on a purely German basis. In some places the people held meetings in which they expressed their indignation at being made the recipients of a “foreign charity.”

That Schlatter should have succeeded in establishing charity schools in the face of such opposition, is, to say the least, remarkable. It is true, however, that he was for some time earnestly supported by the Lutheran and Reformed ministers, and that the opposition to the movement in these denominations was much less decided than it was

in the minor sects. It was probably in recognition of this aid that according to the report of the trustees for 1758 gratuities were paid to six Lutheran ministers, "employed as catechists" and to twelve "Calvinist" ministers.

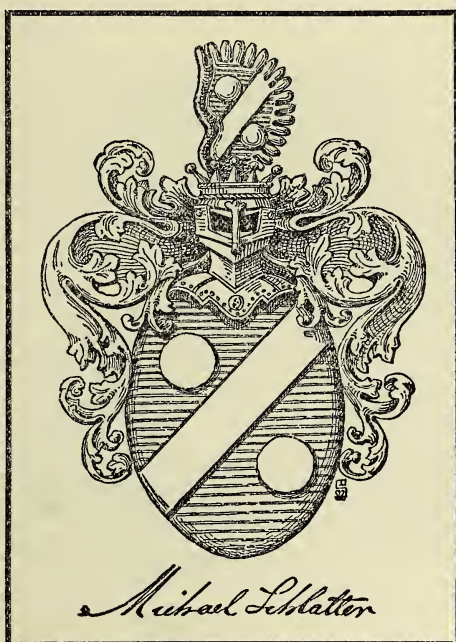
Schlatter began to organize schools in Feb., 1755, and in five months seven had been established. These were situated at New Providence, Upper Salford, Reading, Tulpehocken, Vincent, Chester County, Easton and Lancaster. The work was, therefore, successful, though in the face of much opposition. It is, however, to be noted that in the same year Stoy wrote a letter to Holland, in which he asserted that "nothing was to be hoped from the charity schools"; that they were "all English and political," and that "the trustees were religious separatists."

The schools gradually increased in number, though they were by no means pure charities, as the communities which desired schools were required to contribute liberally to their support. According to a report made by Provost Smith in 1760 schools were then kept up at the following places:

New Providence in Philadelphia County,	50	boys.
Upper Dublin " " "	48	"
Northampton in Bucks County,.....	60	"
Lancaster in Lancaster County,.....	65	"
York in York County,.....	66	"
New Hanover in Berks (?) County,.....	45	"
Reading in Berks County,.....	36	"
Vincent in Chester County,.....	45	"
Presbyterian school, where are educated for the Holy Ministry ¹⁵⁶	25	young men.

¹⁵⁶ We are unable to locate this Presbyterian school. The date is too late for the Log College at Neshaminy. Can it refer to the academy which was founded in 1751 by the Rev. Dr. Robert Smith at Pequea, Lancaster County?

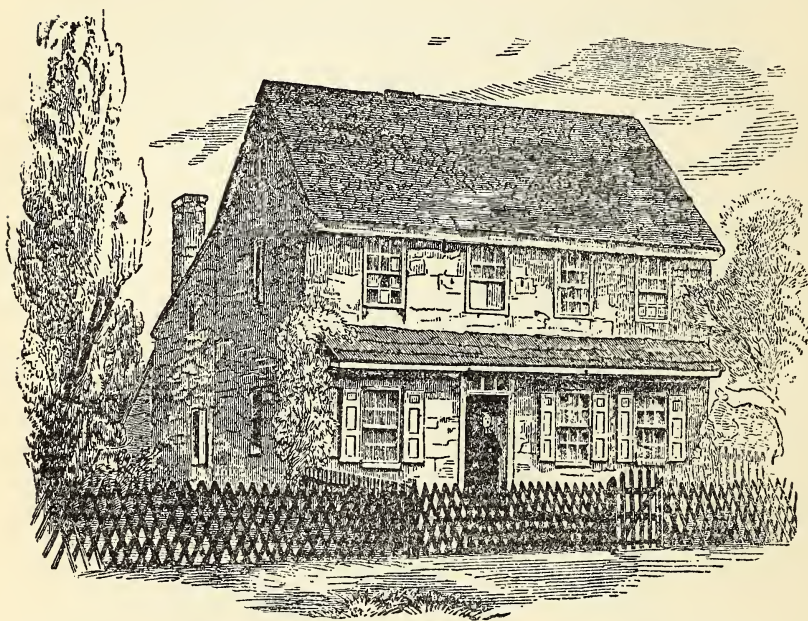
Long before this time Schlatter had, however, withdrawn from his position as Superintendent of Charity Schools. Unable to resist the flood of opposition which had been invoked against him, he resigned his office in 1756, and in 1757 became a chaplain in the Royal American regiment of infantry. As such he was present at the taking of Louisbourg. It is also pretty certain that he accom-



panied Bouquet's expedition to Pittsburg. During the Revolution he boldly took the side of Congress, and this rendered him especially obnoxious to the British, especially as he was still nominally a chaplain in their army. His house was sacked and much of his property destroyed. The portrait which is reproduced in the present volume

was cut from its frame by his daughter Rachel, and thus escaped destruction.

Schlatter was married to Maria Henrika, eldest daughter of Henry Schleydorn, who was one of the most eminent members of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. Schlatter had nine children, of whom six were living at the time of



SCHLATTER'S HOME ON CHESTNUT HILL.

his death. Two of his sons served in the Revolutionary army, and died in consequence of the sufferings then endured.¹⁵⁷ He spent his declining years on a farm at Chestnut Hill, which he called Sweetland. Mühlenberg represents him as genial and hospitable. He preached occasion-

¹⁵⁷ Harbaugh gives an account of his descendants, as they were known at the time of the publication of his "Life of Schlatter."

ally, but took no active part in the affairs of the Church. He solemnized a great many marriages; and we have seen a number of certificates from his hands, all of which are sealed with his coat of arms. His later years were peaceful; but he evidently regarded himself as a broken man, and made no effort to regain the position he had once occupied. He died October 31, 1790, and was buried in Philadelphia in the Reformed church-yard, which is now Franklin Square.

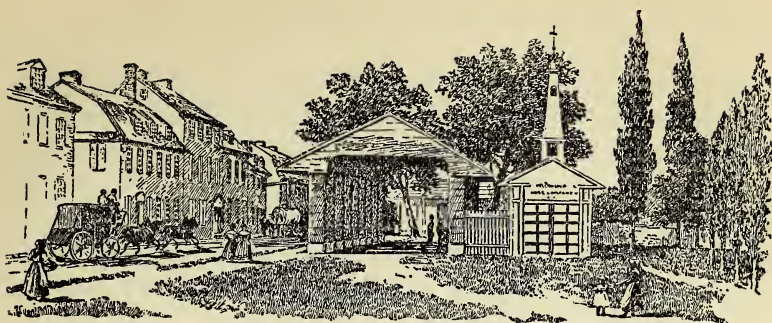
Concerning the charity schools we may add that their promoters seem to have lost interest in them, and the "Society for the Promotion of the Knowledge of God among the Germans" soon ceased to exist. It is now known that not only the interest of the fund but a part, at least, of the principal was expended, and from extant records we conclude that appropriations were made for purposes very different from the original intention of the charity.

As far as the Germans are concerned, Harbaugh and others are inclined to praise them for their "manliness and sense of honor" for refusing to be pauperized; but we would rather agree with our old friend Dr. Seidensticker in saying: "It might have been better for them and their children if they had put their pride into their pocket and gratefully accepted the gifts which were so freely offered."

For Schlatter's inactive years we have no apology to offer; but his earlier services to the Church and State deserve to be gratefully remembered. The hero who saves his country by holding a pass in the day of battle may fail to manifest the wisdom of a statesman in times of peace; but a grateful people will not forget his deeds, and his name will shine in unfading splendor. Schlatter's public career hardly lasted more than a decade; but it teaches

lessons which the Church can never ignore. Whatever may be said of his faults and failures—and they were many—his life will remain a brilliant example of the power of consecrated energy.





CHAPTER XI.

EARLY YEARS OF THE COETUS, 1747-1770.

Rules of Order—Death of Boehm—Tempelman's Proclamation—Eminent Ministers—Holland Stipend.



SEAL OF THE COETUS.

THE first meeting of the Coetus, 1747, was mainly occupied by the reading of Schlatter's reports and the general observation of the field. At the next convention, in 1748, an attempt was made to lay down rules for the guidance of the ministry. Some of these rules, though well meant, were not easily applied,

and were probably never universally observed. Members of one congregation were not to be permitted to receive communion in another without presenting a certificate. No fees were to be accepted for baptisms; and if a minister administered the sacrament outside of his charge he was to report it immediately to the regular pastor, to be

entered on the records of the Church. The fee for solemnizing a marriage was to be 7 shillings and 6 pence; and when the parties did not belong to the charge of the officiating minister this fee was to be sent to their pastor. For preaching a funeral sermon the minister was to be paid a fee of seven shillings. No person was to be recognized as a member of a church who did not contribute annually to its support.

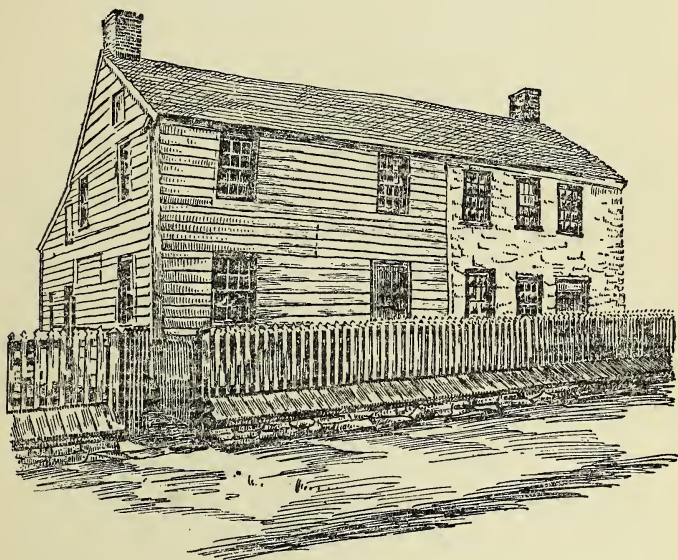
Boehm's "Kirchenordnung" was read and adopted and the author agreed to publish it for the use of the Church.

As far as Coetus was concerned it was resolved that each minister should present an annual report; and that but one delegate elder should be admitted from each charge.

The most important action of the Coetus of 1748 was the adoption of a resolution requiring the members to subscribe to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Articles of the Synod of Dort, 1618-'19. Rieger refused to subscribe, stating in writing that he "felt certain scruples concerning the articles of the Synod of Dort on the subject of predestination *in sensu Calvini*, and desired to refer the matter to the synods as a *casum conscientiae*." In the accompanying coetal letter it is said that Rieger had subsequently authorized Schlatter to affix his name, but it was too late—the document had already been forwarded. This he no doubt did for the purpose of preventing the appearance of schism. That the other members were sincerely attached to the decrees of Dort we do not doubt, but it is to be noted that only members of Coetus were required to subscribe to them.

On this occasion the letter to Holland was written by John Philip Boehm, who styles himself "the earliest burden-bearer in all Pennsylvania, now pastor of only two recently-founded and still weak congregations." He con-

tinued, however, to perform missionary labor to the end of his life. His death occurred suddenly at the house of his eldest son,¹⁵⁸ April 29, 1749, after he had on the previous day administered the communion to the congregation at Egypt. As there was no Reformed minister within reaching distance, the funeral services were conducted by Michael Kolb, a Mennonite. A memorial sermon was



HOUSE IN WHICH JOHN PHILIP BOEHM DIED.

preached in Germantown on the succeeding Sunday by Schlatter, who seems to have done full justice to the memory of his eminent predecessor.

¹⁵⁸ The house in which Boehm died is still standing in Hellertown, Northampton County. For a photograph of the building we are indebted to Mr. James A. Boehm, who is a descendant of John Philip Boehm in the eighth generation.

In 1749 the Coetus received on probation John Conrad Wirtz, of Saucon, and Conrad Tempelman, of Swatara, and requested permission to ordain them.¹⁵⁹ It was a graceful act, for both men were devout and had done excellent work. Before a reply could be obtained from Holland, Wirtz removed to New Jersey and was there ordained by the Presbyterians, but he ended his life in the Reformed Church as pastor at York, Pa. Tempelman and Jonathan Du Bois—the Dutch pastor at Neshaminy—were, however, ordained at Lancaster in 1752.

Tempelman, to whom we referred in connection with the founding of the Church in Lancaster County, was now laboring in the Lebanon Valley. He is known to have preached at Swatara before 1748, and Harbaugh says that baptisms were recorded by him in the church-book at Jonestown as early as 1745. He also preached at Quito-pahilla, Donegal and other places. A proclamation issued by him at the laying of the corner stone of the first church at Muehlbach, in 1751, is still in existence.¹⁶⁰ The following is a translation :

“GLORY TO GOD ALONE!

“Grace and peace from God the father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and from the precious Comforter, the Holy Spirit. God hath had mercy upon us for the salvation of our souls, and hath suffered His dearest Son to come into this world that He might save us from this present evil world, according to the will of God our father. To Him be glory for ever and ever.

“In the year of the blessed birth of our Lord, Jesus Christ, Anno 1751, the 15th of July.

¹⁵⁹ Rupp's "History of Berks and Lebanon Counties," p. 444.

¹⁶⁰ For a copy of this document the author is indebted to the present pastor, the Rev. Adam J. Bachman, of Schaefferstown.

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[illegible]

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Beit du dich nicht vor unsrer Gnaden
Entsetzen. Wir sind mit dir: kein Feind
Nicht den wir unsere Gnaden in diese Welt
Mit dem Menschen haben gebracht.

1875

[illegible][illegible]

A circular library stamp from the University of Michigan Library. The text "UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN" is curved along the top inner edge, and "LIBRARY" is curved along the bottom inner edge. In the center, the date "1911" is printed. The stamp is slightly faded and has some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

TEMPERATURE PROCLAMATION

“Through the Grace and Providence of God and in accordance with an unanimous meeting of the honorable Evangelical Reformed congregation at Müllbach in the township of Heidelberg, in Lancaster County or district, and with the unanimous consent of the Evangelical Reformed congregation, it hath taken place: That the aforesaid Evangelical Reformed congregation hath resolved, with the blessing of God, to build a stone church for themselves and their children and children’s children and their descendants; and hath made the beginning thereunto on the aforesaid day by laying the corner and foundation-stone. The ground or place on which this church is erected is on the land of the respectable George Müller, where, for himself and his heirs, he hath presented and transferred an acre or field of land to the Evangelical Reformed and Evangelical Lutheran congregations for a church, school house and burial place, and hath for himself and heirs renounced all rights to the same to the aforesaid congregations; the gift having been accepted by the honorable Evangelical Reformed congregation at Müllbach with sincere pleasure and heartfelt gratitude. This acre of land is granted to both the Evangelical Reformed and Evangelical Lutheran congregations, and retains its justice and equity, as the deed or agreement indicates. Forasmuch, however, as the aforesaid George Müller hath in his deed or agreement inserted the proviso that if the Evangelical Lutherans should decline to assist in the building a union church, and no church building had previously been erected on the ground, the Evangelical Lutherans could have no right nor claim to the church to be erected; they have a claim only to the school house and burial place, and have no right to interfere in any business which the Reformed may transact under their own roof. The building of this Evangelical

Reformed stone church on the aforesaid place or acre of land must therefore be in no wise interfered with nor prevented, but rather enlarged and advanced to the honor of God and the glory of His name.¹⁶¹

“The aforesaid Evangelical Reformed church is built for the Evangelical Reformed alone, and no other religion, whatever name it may bear, shall have or can have any right or share or pretence to this church; and on the contrary it cannot have the least claim to the same; wherefore these two engrossed documents have been deposited in the corner stone and preserved for the constant information of our descendants.

“For further information there are deposited in the corner stone the Holy Bible of the Old and New Testament, and the Heidelberg Catechism, on which documents this religion stands and is founded. Also, there are deposited as symbols, bread, wine and water.

“And forasmuch as these articles describe the locality and rights of the church, two equivalent documents have been prepared, the one to be deposited in the corner stone and the other preserved among the records of the church. And this has been announced and published before a large and respectable assembly, and subsequently deposited in this place and locality; and the same has been ordered and subscribed by the present teacher and the elders and deacons of this Evangelical Reformed Church. The building committee appointed by the congregation for the erection of this church were Adam Stumpf, Martin Heckendorn, Jost Hoffman, and Adam Bolmann. The master-mason was Conrad Rättenauer.

¹⁶¹ The evident misunderstanding between the two congregations was subsequently removed, and Muehlbach became at an early date a Union church, as it remains to this day.

"The present teacher and preacher is CONRAD TEMPELMAN. Present elders and deacons, Alexander Schaeffer, Heinrich Zöller, Hans Adam Stumpf."

Like most official documents of its times the above "proclamation" is somewhat diffuse, but it is worthy of preservation as casting some light on an otherwise obscure period. "Father Tempelman," as he was affectionately called, subsequently became blind, but preached occasionally at his own house. The little cottage in which he lived, near Cornwall, is still standing, and a recently erected chapel in the neighborhood bears his name. He died about 1761, but the exact date appears not to have been discovered.



Of the six ministers whom Schlatter brought to America John Jacob Wissler was the first to finish his career. He was born at Dillenburg February 23, 1727, and died, near Allentown, in the summer of 1754, in his twenty-eighth year. Having been in 1752 assigned to the Egypt charge he held this frontier post for two years, and then died after an illness of two months. That he was accurate and painstaking is evident from the care with which he kept the records of his ministry.¹⁶² He also entered in the Egypt church-book certain memoranda which, strictly speaking,

¹⁶² The writer is in possession of a beautiful manuscript volume of 200 pages written by him in Latin while he was a student. The title-page bears the following inscription: *Haec Parabolarum Explicatio spectat ad me Johannem Jacobum Wisseler, Dillenburg d. 12ten Januarii, 1747.*

belong to the history of neighboring congregations. Of these the following may serve as an example :

“N. B.—Anna Margaret Heilman, on the 22d of April, 1753, presented to the congregation at the Jordan a beautiful white altar-cloth. May God reward this praiseworthy, Christian work with the most abundant blessings.”

In the year of Wissler's death the Coetus made a gift of £10 to his widow, and there were subsequent appropriations to the same purpose.

Theodore Frankenfeld (1727–1756) was another member of Schlatter's little band whose life was brief. He was assigned to Frederick, Maryland, and served that congregation about three years, also preaching at Conacocheague (near Clearspring) and at Conewago. As his name disappears from the records in 1756 he probably died in that year. The minutes of Coetus are at this point defective and we are left in ignorance of the particulars of his decease.

John Waldschmidt (1724–1786) was a devout man, but was not regarded as very energetic. Assigned to the Muddy Creek charge in Lancaster County, he never seems to have left that region, though he sometimes supplied distant congregations. In 1763 he preached at Berne and Cacusi (Hain's church). The minutes for 1760 state that the people are satisfied with Waldschmidt's preaching, and desire more pastoral visitation.

Philip William Otterbein (1726–1813) was even in these early days the most eminent of “Schlatter's company.” His career is, however, so interesting in its later developments that we have made it the subject of a subsequent chapter.

Henry William Stoy (pronounced Sto-e) was for some years very active in the affairs of the Coetus. He was born

March 14, 1726, at Herborn, and was educated at the university of that place. When he arrived in America he was assigned to Tulpehocken and remained pastor there from 1752 to 1755; then he was transferred to Philadelphia. Here it is said he might have done well enough if it had not been for his marriage with Maria Elizabeth Maus, "a stocking weaver's daughter." There does not seem to have been anything against the character of the girl, but people had in those days very decided ideas concerning social position, and the church in Philadelphia refused to recognize her socially as their pastor's wife. The coetal report for 1760 says: "There were complaints about Stoy's marriage; but it was solemnized in the house of his father-in-law, in the presence of Otterbein, Leydich and DuBois." A marriage that was solemnized in the presence of three ministers had certainly an abundance of official approval.

Stoy became pastor in Lancaster in 1758 and remained there until 1763. In his report for 1758 he says the congregation consisted of one hundred families; he had baptized 100 children; there were 40 catechumens and 60 scholars in the day-school. The congregation was evidently flourishing.

For several years Stoy served as clerk of Coetus. As the "Fathers" refused to receive German communications, and Stoy was not sufficiently familiar with Dutch, he wrote long letters in Latin. In these letters there is a manifest effort to employ a Ciceronian style, but the only result is that it becomes pompous and inflated. The way in which he criticises the conduct of other ministers is absolutely dreadful. When he says that "most of the new ministers are unreliable" we are inclined to be amused, for he was probably the most unreliable of them all.

In 1763 Stoy went to Europe, and was present at the meeting of the Classis of Amsterdam on May 3 of that year. Proposing to study medicine he was matriculated at Leyden, but pursued his studies mostly under the direction of Professor Hoffman, of Herborn.

On his return to America in 1767, Stoy appears at first to have proposed to devote himself entirely to his medical practice. It has been generally supposed on the authority of Harbaugh that he was for many years pastor of Tabor church, Lebanon, but recent researches¹⁶³ have proved this to be a mistake, though it is known that he preached there occasionally by way of supply. He became pastor of the Host church, and probably preached at different times in a somewhat loose and irregular manner in churches in Berks and Lebanon Counties. Greatly to his surprise the Coetus refused to recognize him as a member, and he began to oppose it bitterly. He wrote to Holland to secure the influence of "the Fathers"; and these requested the Coetus to reinstate him. For once, however, the Coetus was inflexible. In the minutes for 1769 the following action appears: "Stoy has complained against us. We have not admitted him to Coetus since his return for three reasons:

"1. He did not report to Coetus, though two meetings were held. During this period he lived as a layman and conducted a small business.

"2. Afterwards he got a notion to preach again, and took a congregation belonging to the Tulpehocken charge without asking permission.

"3. He has slandered Coetus, having said, in his usual excited manner, in the presence of two members: '*Die Prediger in Coetus sind alle Saugbrüder und Lotterbu-*

¹⁶³ See articles by Dr. S. P. Heilman and J. H. Redsecker, Ph.M.

ben.' Subsequently he excepted two or three whom, he said, he still respected. We can endure this, for he is a man of such character that we do not care whether he praises or blames us."

As late as 1773 the Coetus said in its official letter to Holland: "Stoy cannot be received. Last year he published a satirical article against Coetus, and this year he sent us a threatening circular." Evidently he was no longer suited for membership in an ecclesiastical body.¹⁶⁴

In the meantime, however, Stoy had become celebrated as a physician. His cure for hydrophobia—which was equally applicable to the bite of wild animals—was for many years accepted as a specific. The recipe has been frequently published; and though the ingredients are, we believe, generally regarded by physicians as entirely inert, the remedy is still occasionally applied. Its early celebrity is sufficiently attested by the following extract from the account books of General Washington:

"October 18, 1797. Gave my servant, Christopher, to bear his expenses to a person at Lebanon in Pennsylvania celebrated for curing persons bit by wild animals, \$25.00." "Stoy's Drops" are also well remembered. They are described as beneficial in nervous disorders.

That Stoy was a progressive physician is not to be doubted. He was active in the introduction of inoculation for smallpox, and defended his course with word and pen in the face of much popular prejudice. In 1784 he was

¹⁶⁴ Stoy appears to have quarreled with many people. Dr. Egle published in 1883 two of his letters, addressed to Judge Yeates, in one of which, dated Lebanon, Dec. 23, 1775, he formally accused Gen. John Philip De Haas of being a Tory. As De Haas was soon afterwards commissioned by Congress a General in the Revolutionary army, there is some ground for Dr. Egle's suggestion that the trouble was with Stoy and not with De Haas.—Egle's "Notes and Queries," I., p. 217.

elected a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature. A long letter to Gen. Joseph Reed on "The Present Mode of Taxation" was published by him in 1779. In it he advocated a single tax on land. Though the general idea appears strangely modern, some of its details were evidently impracticable. The original manuscript is among the Harbaugh papers in Lancaster. Stoy died in Lebanon, September 11, 1801, and was buried at the Host church.

The condition of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania



ARMS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

was in 1764 very discouraging. In the minutes of Coetus for that year we find the following :

"Lancaster, Readingtown, Yorktown, Tulpehocken, Whitehall, Easton—all important places—pray for pastors. Help is more necessary now than it was fifteen years ago ; or, at least, it is just as necessary, for there were not so many 'lopers' then as now, and a young generation has grown up without proper training. When congregations are advised to forward traveling expenses for ministers

from Europe they call to mind the cases of Bartholomaeus and Hochreutiner. The people are suspicious and suggest misappropriation of funds. We beg for five or six preachers from the Palatinate or Duisburg. If this cannot be done it might be better to wind up the Coetus."

Possibly the darkness was not as profound as it appeared; for even before these words were written several strong men had come to the rescue, to be followed soon afterwards by others who exerted an important influence in the development of the church. In this series one or two must, however, be included who failed to attain to this high ideal. John George Alsentz, who arrived in America in 1757, was pastor in Germantown and neighboring churches. He was a thoroughly educated man, as can be seen from a volume of his manuscripts, written while he was a student at Heidelberg, and now preserved in Lancaster. In 1761-62 he visited Europe, but on his return to America resumed his pastorate at Germantown, where he labored until his death, which occurred October 28, 1767. He took a prominent part in the affairs of the church, and manifested a true missionary spirit. In 1765 he reported that, besides attending to his charge he had, during the year, visited the congregations, at Providence, Vincent, Reading, York, Lebanon, Swatara, Tulpehocken, Pequea, Tohickon, Oley, and also Amwell and Bethlehem, in New Jersey.

Casper Michael Stapel, doctor of philosophy and medicine, was a meteor that was soon extinguished. Dr. Good informs us that he had been a Lutheran minister in Mecklenburg, but had subsequently joined the Reformed Church and studied at Herborn. When he was sent to America, in 1761, his wife refused to accompany him, and this fact may have been the cause of much of his subsequent

trouble. The congregation at Amwell, N. J., had called him before he sailed, and on his arrival he stirred it up to some purpose. He was an impressive preacher, and had a sufficiently high opinion of himself. In 1763 he was chosen President of Coetus, and on the title page of an edition of Lampe's *Wahrheitsmilch*, published by him, he was careful to mention the fact. He prepared a church constitution containing novelties of which the Fathers disapproved, and induced his members to sign appeals in his behalf to the church in Europe to secure a divorce for him from his "stubborn wife" who would not come to America. He began to practice medicine and was remarkably successful, but broke down morally and died in March, 1766, leaving his charge almost ruined.

In 1762 Caspar Diedrich Weyberg¹⁶⁵ arrived in America, and two years later (1764) he was followed by John William Hendel.¹⁶⁶ These two men were pillars of strength until the end of their lives. Both were fine preachers, and devoted much attention to the cause of education. When they were respectively pastors in Philadelphia and Lancaster, these churches assumed in a certain sense a metropolitan character, and their pastors by common consent became the leaders of the church. For their activity in

¹⁶⁵ Caspar Dietrich Weyberg was a native of Marck and studied at Duisburg. He came to this country as an ordained minister; was pastor at Easton, Pa., in 1763, and then removed to Philadelphia, serving that congregation from 1763 to 1790. During the Revolution he was imprisoned for his devotion to the patriot cause. His son, the Rev. Samuel D. Weyberg, foolishly changed his name to Whybark, under which name he was known in the South and West. The latter is said to have preached the first Protestant sermon west of the Mississippi River, in 1803, in Cape Girardeau County, Missouri.

¹⁶⁶ John William Hendel was a native of Durckheim in the Palatinate. He was sent to America by the Synod of Holland, and was successively pastor of the following charges: Lancaster, 1765-69; Tulpehocken, 1769-82; Lancaster (second time), 1782-94; Philadelphia, 1794-98. He died of yellow fever, Sept. 29, 1798. His only son, the Rev. William Hendel, Jr., D.D., was an eminent man of a later period.

the founding of Franklin College in 1787, Princeton conferred upon both of them the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, at the same time when the same honor was conferred upon Helmuth and H. E. Mühlenberg.

John Daniel Gros (or Gross) was another strong man who came to this country in 1764, though not under the auspices of the synods of Holland. He was born in 1737 in the county of Zweibrücken, probably in the village of Webenheim. He had intended to be regularly commissioned by the deputies, but when he arrived in Holland he found the ship ready to sail and so came away without his papers. The Coetus, however, strained a point and immediately received him. He informs us in the records of the Union church (Neffsville, Lehigh County) that "on the 20th of December he was called by the Reformed Coetus to be teacher and shepherd of a charge consisting of four congregations: Allentown, and others in Whitehall Township, commonly known as Egypt, Schlosser's, and at the Jordan." Here the Allentown church is spoken of as already existing; but it was hardly more than a preaching point, and Gros is very properly regarded as the founder of the Reformed Church in that city.

It is evident, both from tradition and from the records, that Gros was not very well satisfied with his first charge. In the minutes for 1769 we read: "Gros, hitherto in Whitehall, has received a call from Saucon and Springfield, and is inclined to accept it. He complains of his house that it is in bad condition, and there is no good water there. The latter is an important matter for a minister in this country who has only water to drink, especially in hot summer days, when his health may easily be ruined by drinking unwholesome water."

Gros had supplied Saucon and Springfield at an earlier

date. This fact is incidentally mentioned in the following interesting item from the minutes of 1768: "Two elders appeared from Lower Saucon and Springfield, two large congregations which had been spoiled by a *Landläufer*, but have now been brought into fairly good condition by the labors of Dominies Henop, Pomp, Faber, Gobrecht and Gros. They requested admission to Coetus and the service of a regular pastor. The request was granted and they were recommended to the Fathers in Holland." In 1772 Dr. Gros removed to New York and was until 1783 pastor at Kingston. From 1783 to 1795 he was pastor of the German Reformed church of the city of New York, and during most of this time he also held a professorship in Columbia College. In 1795 he published "Natural Principles of Rectitude," an important treatise on moral philosophy. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him in 1789 by Columbia College. Though in his later years he rarely attended Coetus, on account of the difficulties of the journey, he was very highly regarded, and several young men were sent to him to receive a classical education. He died at Canajoharie, May 25, 1812.

Nicholas Pomp came to America in 1765. He was accompanied across the sea by three other ministers, Frederick L. Henop,¹⁶⁷ John Jacob Zufall and Frederick Julius Berger. Henop was a good man, but Zufall and Berger were no credit to the Church nor to themselves. Both were finally deposed.

Nicholas Pomp was an earnest man and was regarded as an excellent preacher. According to an imperfect manuscript autobiography, in possession of the writer, he was

¹⁶⁷ F. L. Henop was born in Dillenburg and educated in Heidelberg. In writing in the album of a friend in Amsterdam, Feb. 3, 1765, he styles himself "in Americam vocatus." Pastor at Easton, 1765-70; Frederick, Md., 1770-84. Accepted a call to Reading, Pa., but died suddenly.

born at Manbüchel in Zweibrücken, January 20, 1734, and was the son of Peter Pomp and his wife Elisa. In his childhood he was almost constantly ill, but received a fair primary education, and learned the Heidelberg Catechism by heart. He was a devout child, and early conceived the idea of becoming a minister; but his parents did not believe him sufficiently vigorous, and he learned the trade of a tailor. He continues: "As constant sitting was prejudicial to my health my parents finally permitted me to devote myself to study, and with great delight I began the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. In my 24th year I went to the University of Marburg, in Hesse, to study theology." (Here the manuscript is defective.)

"I received information from Holland that I might be promoted to the ministry for service in America. As I was willing to undertake the work I was ordained in Cassel, and received an excellent testimonial. The Synod examined me, and as I was pronounced worthy I received 535 guilders for traveling expenses and a recommendation to the congregations in America. I was fifteen weeks on the ocean, between Holland and Philadelphia, arriving at the latter place on the 5th of December, 1765.

"I began at once to serve the congregations at Falkner Swamp and Vincent. After I had been there seven years I married Elizabeth Dotterer,¹⁶⁸ a widow with six children and no property, but we lived very happily together. I was not rich, but we had as much as we needed day by day. Together we had but one child, a son whom I named Thomas. After he was grown up I myself educated him for the ministry as well as I could. He became

¹⁶⁸ She was a daughter of Henry Antes, and the widow of Philip Dotterer.

a minister, and has been a great comfort to myself and his mother.¹⁶⁹

“After I had served this charge for 18 years I accepted a call to Baltimore, in 1783. My resignation was not willingly accepted, and I went away with a heavy heart. In Baltimore I could remain only six years, though I did my best to build up the church. The congregation was so greatly divided that I could not remain longer, for the building of the new church had caused two parties, and I was compelled to take sides in the conflict.” (The rest of the manuscript is wanting.)

From 1790 to about 1800 Mr. Pomp was pastor at Indianfield and Tohickon, and subsequently lived with his son in Easton. Harbaugh relates that he supplied several congregations in the neighborhood, and that on one occasion he fell from his horse and sustained an injury which rendered it impossible for him afterwards to ride, either on a horse or in a carriage. The people to whom he had preached, however, were so anxious to hear him that they made arrangements to have him carried by four men, on a litter, a distance of from twelve to fifteen miles. This was done several times.¹⁷⁰

It was while he was pastor at Falkner Swamp that Mr. Pomp published a volume by which he is best remembered.¹⁷¹ It was written to refute Paul Siegelvolck's book,

¹⁶⁹ Thomas Pomp, born at Skippack, February 4, 1773; died at Easton, Pa., April 22, 1852. He served the church at Easton for 56 years, and also preached at various times at Plainfield, Dryland, Lower Saucon, Upper Mount Bethel, and other churches. He was a man of admirable character and was very highly esteemed.

¹⁷⁰ “Lives of the Fathers,” II., 136.

¹⁷¹ “Kurzgefasste Prüfungen der Lehre des Ewigen Evangeliums, Womit deutlich gezeigt wird, dass man die Wiederbringung aller Dinge in der Heiligen Schrift vergeblich sucht. Von N. Pomp, V. D. M.” Philadelphia, Henrich Miller, 1774.

“Das Ewige Evangelium,” which had been extensively circulated by the Universalists of Oley. Considering the circumstances under which it was written, Mr. Pomp’s reply was a very creditable publication. He was a man

Kurzfafste
P r ü f u n g e n
der Lehre
des
Ewigen Evangeliums:
Womit
deutlich gezeigt wird,
Daß man die Wiederbringung
aller Dinge in der heiligen Schrift
vergeblich fucht.
Auf Begehren vieler Freunde zum Druck
befördert
von
N. Pomp, V. D. M.

Philadelphia,
Gedruckt bey Heinrich Miller,
1774.

of decided talent and his personal excellence was fully appreciated. He died at Easton, Pa., Sept. 1, 1819.

John Theobald Faber was another eminent man of this early period. He was a native of Zosenheim in the Palatinate and studied at Heidelberg. When he came to America in 1766 he was accompanied by John George Witmer and probably by Charles Lange. Of these three

men Faber was the only one whose ministry was thoroughly successful.¹⁷² He was twice pastor at New Goshenhoppen—the intervening years being occupied by brief pastorates in Lancaster and Indianfield. He was stricken by fatal illness in his pulpit, Nov. 2, 1788, dying soon after he felt the stroke. It is a remarkable fact that nearly 45 years later his son and successor, John Theobald Faber, *Junior*, fell dead while preaching in the same pulpit.

John George Witner (1735–1779) appears to have been an unfortunate man. He was pastor at Muddy Creek for some years, but he was not well supported and “suffered from chronic melancholy.” In 1772 he became pastor of a charge in what is now Lehigh County, consisting of the

¹⁷² The original of the following letter, addressed by Alsentz to Faber, is in possession of the author :

GERMANTOWN, Sept. 19, 1766.

Reverend and honored Sir !

My heart is full of thanksgiving to our faithful father who has mercifully protected you with the pinions of His grace, because of your happy arrival in our American vineyard. My soul rejoices, and I congratulate myself on account of the assistance which you bring us, and of which we sorely stand in need.

I have been informed that you preached yesterday in Philadelphia, and that you expect to visit and preach for me next Sunday. I have therefore already written to Bro. Weyberg, requesting him to inform you, that I have announced the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and that it might therefore be well to select a subject suitable to the occasion ; fearing, however, that the letter may have miscarried, I venture to write directly to yourself.

Will you please inform me whether you prefer to preach in the morning or in the afternoon, so that I can make my arrangements accordingly ? I am able to say in advance that we shall have the largest audience in the morning, as many of the members reside at a great distance from the church ; and as a stranger you would, in my opinion, find it most agreeable to preach at that service.

I also beg you to inform me whether you belong to the Faber family of Zozenheim. Also, what is the name of the gentleman who accompanies you ? I remain, with great respect,

Your faithful Brother,

JOHN GEORGE ALSENTZ.

Plura Coram. I am very unwell, and hope you will therefore excuse the brevity of this letter.

congregations at Upper Milford, Saltzburg, and Chestnut Hill, and here he seems to have labored successfully.

Frederick Dalliker (1738-1799) was a native of Zurich. He came to this country as an ordained minister in 1768; preached in New Jersey, and became in 1782 Nicholas Pomp's successor in Falkner Swamp. There he was very popular and successful. An old man who personally remembered him described him to the writer, many years ago as a little, good-humored, red-faced man, with a shock of white hair. As we have already remarked, several ministers were admitted to Coetus who had not been sent by the authorities in Holland. John Conrad Bucher was a very interesting personage. He was born at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, June 13, 1730, and died at Lebanon, Pennsylvania, August 17, 1780. Thoroughly educated for the ministry at Marburg, Basel, and other universities, he had, for reasons which we cannot now determine, entered the military service of Holland. Subsequently he came to America as an officer in the British colonial service, and distinguished himself in the French and Indian war, and rose to the rank of captain. Having been stationed at Carlisle the religious necessities of the people appealed to his sympathy and he began to preach, at least as early as 1763. In 1765 he resigned his commission and devoted himself exclusively to the work of the ministry. He was the founder of the Reformed Church in Carlisle. In 1766 the Coetus requested permission to ordain him. The minutes say: "His coming to Carlisle and several other congregations was providential. The charge is too poor to send him to Holland for ordination—what shall we do?" That the Coetus ordained him, with or without permission, is not to be doubted, but the exact date is uncertain.

In 1768 two calls to Bucher were presented to the Coetus. The one was from Lebanon, Quitapahilla, Heidelberg, White Oak and Rapho; ¹⁷³ the other was from Reading. The decision was left to his own judgment, and it is known that he went to Lebanon, which was afterwards the main center of his activity. He was the founder of many churches, and his memory is held in affectionate remembrance.

John Christopher Gobrecht was another minister who was ordained by Coetus without the consent of the Synods of Holland. He was born at Angerstein, Germany, October 11, 1733, and died at Hanover, York County, Pa., November 6, 1815. In his youth he learned the trade of a weaver, but was in no sense illiterate. After his arrival in this county, in 1753, he was instructed in theology by Alsentz. In 1766 the Coetus requested the privilege of ordaining him, representing him as "a man well qualified for the ministry who has been called to the pastorate of a congregation that had been almost ruined by a *Landläufer*." If Harbaugh is correct in fixing the date of his ordination at September 28, 1766, they did not wait for a reply. He was successively pastor at Tohickon, Muddy Creek, and Hanover; and in the last-mentioned place he spent the concluding 27 years of his ministry. His influence in Coetus was great; and in his person and character there was something patriarchal which commanded universal respect.¹⁷⁴ One of his sons, the Rev. John Gobrecht, was for more than thirty years pastor of the Allentown charge. Another son was chief

¹⁷³ A small congregation in Rapho Township, Lancaster County, popularly known as Gantz's church, now extinct.

¹⁷⁴ The writer is in possession of Gobrecht's copy of D'Outrein's "Gülden Kleinod der Lehre der Wahrheit," an extensive commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism which was his constant *vade mecum*.

coiner of the U. S. mint, and designed the beautiful pattern-pieces which are known by numismatists as "Gobrecht dollars."

The Reverend Frederick Faehring (1736-1779) is the only other minister whom we shall mention in this connection as having been ordained by Coetus before 1770. He studied at Princeton, and was afterwards instructed by Alsentz, Weyberg and Pomp. The minutes of Coetus for 1769 contain the following rather laconic statement: "Faehring has been examined and ordained pastor of Germantown, Witpen and Worcester. We are afraid the Fathers will not approve, but it was a necessary act." Faehring afterwards became pastor of the German Reformed church of the city of New York, and also served several charges in the Reformed Dutch Church.

The refusal of the authorities in Holland to permit the American ministers to confer the rite of ordination was a source of constant disagreement and finally led to separation. In 1765 the Coetus formally requested this privilege. "Why should we not ordain?" they inquired. "The Presbyterians do it and their church flourishes." The Hollanders were, however, unwilling to depart from their usual colonial policy; and it is almost comical to observe how, on a number of occasions, the Coetus performed the rite on its own responsibility and afterwards profoundly begged pardon of the Fathers in Holland.

A constant source of friction was the division of the Holland stipend. It came irregularly and gradually decreased in amount, but such as it was it had to be apportioned. The Coetus requested the Fathers to designate the individual recipients of their bounty, but this was not generally done. It had therefore to be divided by a committee, and in a small ecclesiastical body this frequently

led to dissatisfaction. It is evident, however, that there was an earnest effort to use the charities in accordance with the best interests of the Church. The following paragraph from Harbaugh's "Life of Schlatter"—though it might now be corrected and supplemented—may serve to give a general idea of the extent of these benefactions:

"The first distribution on record is in 1755. The amount distributed in that year was £418, 15s., 6d., Pennsylvania currency. The amount varied very little from this up to the year 1761 or 1762. In 1757 it was £357, 2s., 10d.—in 1758, £385, 14s.—1759, £395, 14s., 7d. Soon after 1760 the amount seems to grow gradually less; no doubt because the congregations increased, and many of them gradually became self-supporting. In 1770 it was £85, 14s., 3d.—in 1773, £46, 6s.—in 1778, it was 450 guilders. The last gift we find acknowledged is 100 guilders, for the use of the congregation in Baltimore in 1791."¹⁷⁵

The following lists—also taken from Harbaugh—show how the stipend was distributed in early days:

1755.			
MINISTERS.	CHARGES.	AMOUNT RECEIVED.	
		£. S. D.	
Rev. Weiss.....	Goshenhoppen	35	15 0
“ Rieger.....	Schaeffer's church.....	15	00 0
“ Schlatter .....	.....	45	00 0
Remainder of last year		14	00 0
Rev. Leydich.....	Falkner Swamp	35	15 0
“ Lischy	Yorktown	37	13 6
“ Otterbeim	Lancaster.....	18	00 0
“ Stoy	Tulpehocken	36	18 0

¹⁷⁵ Dr. Good says the last donation was ordered to be given to the Rev. Mr. Nevelling, an invalid minister, as late as 1793.

The Stipend.

199

	£.	s.	d.
Rev. Frankenfeld.....Fredericktown, Md	36	00	0
“ Waldschmid .....Cocalico.....	36	10	0
“ Du Bois.....Northampton, etc.....	21	5	0
“ Tempelman.....Swatara, etc	10	5	0
“ Steiner.....Germantown.....	36	00	0
“ Bartholomaeus	19	2	0
“ Dorstius	5	8	0
Travelling Expenses of the Elders.....	15	4	0
Penna. Currency.....	417	15	6

1759.

MINISTERS.	CHARGES.	AMOUNT RECEIVED.	£.	s.	d.
Rev. Weiss.....	Goshenhoppen		30	00	0
“ Rieger	Schaeffer's church.....		30	00	0
“ Leydich.....	Falkner Swamp		30	00	0
“ Otterbeim	Tulpehocken.....		37	10	0
“ Stoy	Lancaster.....		30	00	0
“ Waldschmid	Cocalico, etc.....		30	00	0
“ Du Bois.....	Northampton, etc.....		20	00	0
“ Alsentz. ....	.....		30	00	0
“ Tempelman, emeritus .....	.....		10	00	0
Pro alendo Bartholomaeus.....	.....		25	00	0
Rev. Rubel.....	Philadelphia		15	00	0
<i>To Widows:</i>					
Widow of Dorstius .....	.....		1	7	0
“ “ Munz ¹⁷⁶ .....	.....		7	7	0
<i>To Schoolmasters:</i>					
At Lancaster.....	.....		8	00	0
“ Kreutz Creek.....	.....		3	00	0
“ Conewago .....	.....		1	10	0
“ Readingtown .....	.....		3	00	0
“ Goshenhoppen .....	.....		1	10	0

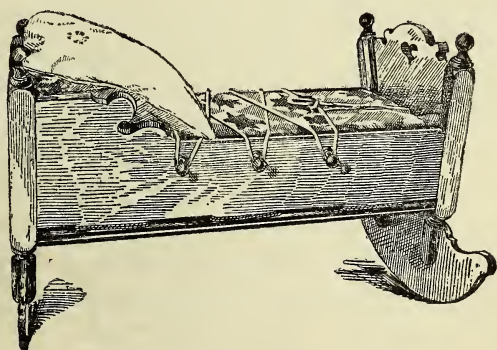
¹⁷⁶ Rev. Christopher Muntz was sent to America in 1754, but died on the voyage.

	£.	s.	d.
At Falkner Swamp.....	2	00	0
“ Tulpehocken.....	4	00	0
Expenses to Coetus	14	00	0
Total distributed.....	339	9	0
Remaining in the hands of Rev. Leydich.....	56	5	7
Total received.....	395	14	7

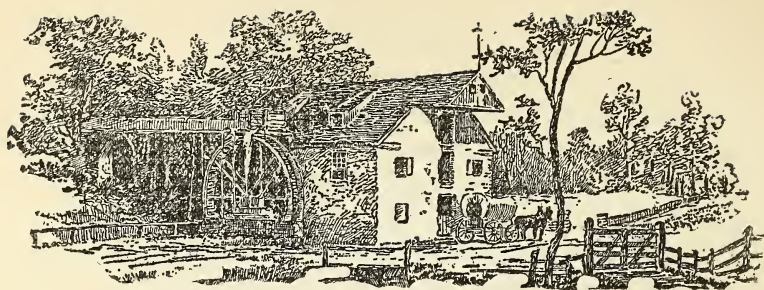
That the Reformed Church in the United States is deeply indebted to the Church of Holland is gratefully acknowledged. For disinterested kindness to a foreign people, and for patient continuance in well-doing, the benevolence of the Dutch churches has hardly been equalled in the history of the world. To this benevolence the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania owes its organization, and it would be ungrateful to forget the aid so freely extended in the dark and trying hours of its early history.

To this acknowledgment we may perhaps be permitted to add the confession that the relations with Holland did not in all respects fulfill the object of their institution. The use of the Dutch language—or in an emergency, Latin—was required in all correspondence, and the American ministers complained that their letters were not understood. “It is hard to choose,” said one of the later secretaries, “between a language which you have forgotten and another which you have never properly learned.” Business was necessarily transacted at too great a distance; and years sometimes elapsed before the American churches could obtain a final decision on an important question. It is strange that during all these years after Schlatter’s mission, the Dutch synods never sent one of their own number to America to learn the necessities of the churches by personal observation. It was a noble act to send German ministers

to America ; but the Hollanders did not always know their antecedents and were occasionally deceived. More than once the Coetus pointed out that it would be safer and less expensive to use the funds for the establishment of a literary and theological institution in America in which ministers might be trained for service in the local field ; but for such a plan the Hollanders manifested no sympathy. The annual stipend—so long as it was used to increase deficient salaries—was not in every respect a blessing. As it was primarily intended for Pennsylvania the pastors in New Jersey complained that they were excluded. The people exaggerated the amounts which their pastors received in this way, and became careless with regard to the raising of salaries. It might have caused trouble and privation, but we think it would have been better if, after fifteen or twenty years, the Holland stipend had been devoted to some other purpose of general benevolence, and the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania left to its unaided resources for the support of its ministry.



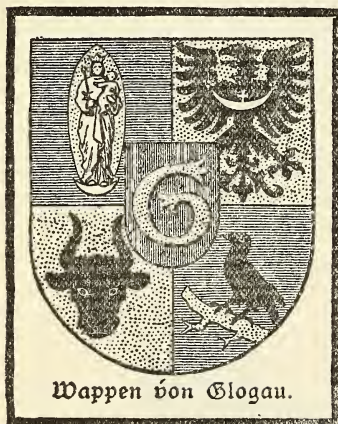
A PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN CRADLE



CHAPTER XII.

JOHN JOACHIM ZUBLY.

Birth and Parentage—Education—Pastor in Charleston and Savannah—Political Services.



DR. ZUBLY was in the eighteenth century regarded as by far the most eminent Reformed minister in America. Though he was never a member of Coetus, his prominence in Church and State induces us to give a somewhat elaborate account of his remarkable career.

John Joachim Zubly was born in St. Gall, Switzerland, August 27, 1724. His father

and grandfather—both named David—were weavers; but it must be understood that they were men of influence and social position. The family had been settled in St. Gall since, at least, the time of the Reformation, Felix Zublin, the second of that name, having acquired the right of citizenship in 1543.¹⁷⁷ The family name, it may be re-

¹⁷⁷ For the above facts and other interesting material the writer is indebted to Professor Hinke, who transcribed them from Scherer's *Stemmatologia Sangallensis* and other manuscript works in the library of St. Gall.

marked, was generally written Zublin or Züblin, though it appears in many different forms.

In 1732 the City Council of St. Gall authorized David Zubly, the younger, to publish a weekly paper, generally known as *Der Bericht*. The censorship was, however, extremely strict, and in 1734 he was actually forbidden to publish foreign news, and ordered to insert nothing but what belonged to strictly local matters. The excuse given by the council was that they feared to offend the Catholics, with whom they tried to live on good terms.

In 1736, David Zubly, *Junior*, emigrated to America, to which country a number of his relatives had previously removed. An account of the voyage is still extant in a

pamphlet published in 1738 by Hans Wernhard Trachsler.¹⁷⁸ In it the writer states that on the 9th of September, 1736, he left Elgg, a town in the canton of Zurich, and when he came to Rotterdam he met Mr. Zubly, of St. Gall, the Rev. Mr. Zuberbühler, of Troguen, Mr. Tobler (later the father-in-law of J. J. Zubly) and many others from Switzerland. "These formed a colony of 250 persons. They engaged passage for 5 louis d'ors for each adult. The voyage lasted 12 weeks and 3 days. They suffered very much, as they had no beds and were compelled to sleep on

¹⁷⁸ Kurtz verfasste Reiss Beschreibung eines neulich aus der in West Indien gelegenen Landschaft Carolina in sein Vaterland zurückgekommenen Lands- angehörigen," Zurich, 1738, pp. 8.

the floor." Most of the colony settled in South Carolina and Georgia.

It was long believed that John Joachim had accompanied his parents to America, but it is now known that he was left in St. Gall, in charge of his grandfather, David Zubly, *Senior*, with whom a sufficient sum of money was deposited to pay the expenses of the lad's education. Unfortunately the grandfather failed in business two years later, so that this money was lost, and young Joachim was left without resources. Friends, however, came to the rescue, and he was well educated under the direction of "the two professors of the city." What additional advantages he enjoyed we have been unable to learn; but it is known that he visited Tübingen, and the family tradition relates that he studied at Halle. He was very precocious and certainly made the most of his opportunities. In 1743 his father, writing from Purrysburg, South Carolina, appealed to the City Council of St. Gall to secure a dispensation for his son, so that he might be ordained under age, and also pleading for some pecuniary aid in meeting the expenses of the voyage to America. It appears that an appropriation was made for the latter purpose, but the ministers of the city absolutely refused to depart from their usual order in conferring the rite of ordination. The candidate then applied to the church of Chur (Coire), in which city he was ordained late in 1743, or early in 1744, being less than twenty years old.

Many years ago the present writer purchased at a book-sale in Boston a volume which turned out to be Zubly's album. It is a marvellous collection of autographs, containing the *vota* of nearly one hundred friends, most of whom were eminent in church or state, in Europe or America. From this volume alone it is almost possible

to follow him on his journey to America, and even to correct some dates in the biography preserved at St. Gall.

It appears that Zubly left Switzerland early in the spring of 1744 and after journeying leisurely down the Rhine arrived in England in May. In London he was cordially received. J. T. Burckard wrote in his album, May 13th, and in August we have the inscriptions of F. M. Ziegenhagen, J. R. Pittius, Samuel H. Albing and others whose names are well known in the history of German emigration. There is a word of greeting from Peter Brunnholtz who was then in London but subsequently became a prominent Lutheran minister in America. It is evident that these men took a profound interest in the mission and work of the "boy preacher."

Arriving in America in the autumn of 1744, young Zubly remained for some time in his father's house at Purrysburg, serving as an evangelist throughout South Carolina and Georgia. He was a fine preacher, and his personal excellence rendered him very popular. On the 10th of November, 1746, he was married to Anna Tobler,¹⁷⁹ a daughter of John Tobler, a native of Rehetobel, a village near St. Gall. For several years they lived in Frederica, but soon removed to Orangeburg, S. C., where for some time Zubly supplied a Lutheran church. He also organized "The German Calvinistic church of St. John" and other Reformed congregations.¹⁸⁰ About the same time he began to preach at Charleston. He lived at a place called Wandoneck—the neck of the river Wando—about three miles from the town. Here he labored until about 1760 when he removed to Savannah. His congre-

¹⁷⁹ They had five children—two sons and three daughters. In the main line the family is believed to be now extinct.

¹⁸⁰ Bernheim, p. 226; Strobels's "Saltzburgers," p. 119.

gation at Charleston was composed of Reformed, Lutherans and Roman Catholics.¹⁸¹

It may not have been easy to serve a congregation composed of such mixed materials, but Zubly was well qualified for the work. He was an advanced pietist and cared little for doctrine or denominational distinctions. That he preached regularly in three languages—German, English and French—is very remarkable, but the fact is beyond dispute.

George Whitefield had but recently established his orphanage at Bethesda, near Savannah, and naturally became Zubly's patron and friend. In his album he calls him *ex intimo corde*, his "son in the Lord."

Zubly was never a settled pastor in Pennsylvania,¹⁸² but he kept in close touch with the north. In 1749 Lischy recommended him for the pastorate of the church in Lancaster. As he was fond of writing for the press, Saur became his publisher, and the latter took every opportunity of praising him.

In 1753 Zubly visited the north in behalf of Whitefield's orphanage, and was enthusiastically received. In New York the people are said to have offered to build him a church if he would but remain with them; and Samuel Hazard wrote in his album: "Come over to New York and help us!" In Philadelphia, Mühlenberg, Schlatter and other ministers expressed their appreciation of his work. He visited the principal Reformed churches in Pennsylvania, but also delivered a somewhat pointed address to the brethren in Ephrata.

¹⁸¹ Bernheim, p. 179.

¹⁸² Mittelberger, in his "Reise nach Pennsylvania" (1750-54) mentioned Zubly as one of six Reformed ministers at that time officiating in the province, but it is evident that he was a visitor and not a regular pastor.

Of course, during this visit Zubly's acquaintance was greatly extended, and after his return to the South he wrote a number of letters, of which three were until recently in possession of the writer. We translate them on account of their general interest, though it is to be regretted that the third letter—which is historically most important—is in a very imperfect condition, and fails us at the very point which is most interesting and suggestive: ¹⁸³

I.

(*To Conrad Weiser.*)

WANDONECK, April 11, 1754.

Very Dear Friend,

At our meeting I experienced for you a sincere affection which has not diminished by my absence; so that I now take up my pen to write to you in the hope of enjoying the pleasure of receiving a reply, which I hope will be more extended than my letter.

Through the grace of God I and my dear ones have safely arrived at home, and inasmuch as God gave me grace to offer here and there a testimony of the mercy of God in Christ, I silently await a blessing. It is my Master's business; He will keep His eye upon it without my care; and I therefore quietly expect his benediction. The greatest advantage of my journey I discover in the certain conviction of my own insignificance.

Enclosed is a reply to Bro. Jaebez which I beg you to deliver.

On this occasion I beg you to inform me without delay

1. What are the chief ordinances (human ordinances, I mean) of the community at Ephrata; and whether it is true

¹⁸³ The second letter has appeared in the American Church History series, vol. 8, p. 299.

that they call their Superintendent the Holiest of the Holy?

2. Whether they practice monastic discipline, what is the nature of the punishment, and by whom it is ordered?

3. Whether they repeat baptism and how it is administered. That the candidates are naked is probably a calumny.

I pray for the dear people of Tulpehocken that they may enjoy the sweet and blessed knowledge of Jesus our Redeemer. Without Christ all is nothing.

I have received a proposition to give to the press the discourse which I delivered at Ephrata; but as it has long since been forgotten, I can only hope that it may be impressed on the hearts of those who heard it to their eternal welfare.

I greet my dear friends and all the Lord's people, and remain

Your sincere friend,

J. JOACHIM ZÜBLIN.

2.

(To Conrad Beissel.)

TO FRIEDSAM IN EPHRATA: Grace and every blessing in the knowledge of ourselves and of our eternal Mediator and High Priest!

I have been considerably exercised in mind as to whether I should answer your recent letter or not—partly because I have enough to do with my own miseries and many infirmities; partly because I can readily conclude from the spirit which reveals itself in your letter, that any representation from me would be lightly regarded—and inasmuch as you consider yourself much more highly exalted than I am (if you are further advanced in grace than I you merely excel a weak infant) you will probably not

consider yourself obliged to receive an exhortation from me.

Inasmuch, however, as you intimate how exalted is the order, or perhaps responsibility, into which you regard yourself as having been placed by God, I will tell you honestly how you appear to me. May the lamb whose eyes are like flames of fire reveal in thee and me all the

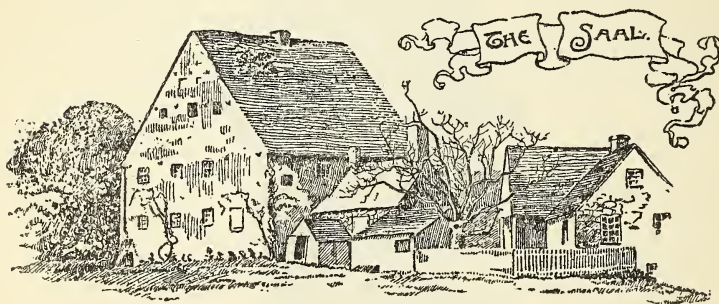


CONRAD BEISSEL.

heights and depths of our hearts ! “Thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.” I counsel thee that, as a poor sinner, worthy of hell, thou shouldest go to the Lord Jesus and buy of him “gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich ; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame

of thy nakedness do not appear [before angels and men] ; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see." It is indeed pleasant to a proud nature to print, to say, or to hear : "Thou art certainly an exalted man ; thou art far advanced in sanctification." When to this is added the proud self-deception that a man imagines himself a priest for the atonement of others, he grows giddy in spiritual conceit and becomes boastful beyond measure.

Oh, that the Lord Jesus would either bring you down



ONE OF THE CLOISTER BUILDINGS AT EPHRATA.

gently from your deceptive exaltation, or else cast you down by His divine power, so that personally you may sweetly experience the abundant riches of His grace, and that when you are weighed in the balance of the sanctuary you may not be found wanting !

"For man is worth no more, I fear,
Than what he doth to God appear."

I believe that in this letter I have proved myself thy faithful friend ; but will leave it with God, in the hope that He may bless it so that thou mayest become sober.

J. JOACHIM ZÜBLIN.

JANUARY 9, 1755.

3.

(To Rev. J. Heintzelman, Philadelphia.)

WANDONECK, July 1, 1755.

Dear Brother in our Chief Shepherd, Christ !

Your acceptable letter of May 29 was received last week. Part of its contents were very agreeable, but another part was of such a nature that I have little peace of mind. You may readily conceive that I refer to the important proposition which at the suggestion of your father-in-law was also addressed to me by Saur. I am sincerely obliged to you for your fraternal confidence, and will give you my present judgment with equal freedom.

(Defect in the Manuscript.)

I confess beyond all things that the matter appears to me exceedingly important. If I conferred with flesh and blood the answer would be in the negative; but may the Lord preserve me so that I may never oppose His will, for He has convinced me that we can never be happy unless we follow him with all our hearts. I appreciate the difficulties which you note and many others. No one knows my incapacity more thoroughly than myself. If the Lord should leave me alone for a moment it would appear to all men.

The proposition concerning the acceptance of a congregation in Raritan is out of the question, for, in the first place, I cannot speak a single drop of Dutch, and am much less able to serve a Hollandish congregation. Besides, the *vocantes* can and dare engage no one who is unwilling to submit to them. All would therefore depend on the nature of the instructions.

Mr. Saur has not given me a very favorable idea of the Trustees. In this matter I look to God alone. * * *

(*Another defect.*)

He further suggested that inasmuch as Sch— (Schlatter) desired a letter addressed to himself (for my legitimation in my church) I should undertake a journey to Coetus, when we might orally discuss the matter, and consider the affair in all its details; which proposition I submit to the providence of God, whether anything may come of it or not. I fear, however, these things will not be agreeable to Mr. Schlatter, for I have not for a long time received a reply from him. May the Lord rule the whole affair according to His will and for the welfare of many souls, and prepare me, His unworthy servant, for all that may be before me. “Do what thou wilt with me, etc.”

The letter to Mr. Rabenhorst I have delivered. I saw him personally this spring. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* He is now one of the four secular judges of the community. O, my dear brother, how important it is that we should watch and pray without ceasing! By how many enemies are we constantly surrounded, within and without! All this is a constant source of care to a faithful steward. I am still far from reaching the goal. I know what I ought to be, I begin to feel its necessity, but unfaithfulness still clings to my nature.

I am not without hope that the Lord has begun to enliven the dry bones in my congregation. O, that they might live! How painful it would be to leave my congregation at this time when I am just beginning to enjoy affection and blessing. But not my will be done!

I commend your reverence and all the brethren to the unchangeable grace of our Redeemer. Pray for me that I may know and fulfil the good and acceptable will of God!

Your humblest fellow-servant,

J. JOACHIM ZÜBLIN.

It seems a pity that so much of the third letter is lost. What was the plan which Saur proposed? Was it a movement for the appointment of Zubly as Schlatter's successor in the superintendence of the Charity Schools? Or, was it proposed to establish a literary institution and place Zubly at its head? At present none can tell.

It is pleasant to mention an instance of Zubly's generosity. The Rev. J. F. Handschuh—Lutheran pastor at Germantown—relates that, in 1755, when his family was suffering for the necessities of life, he was surprised to receive from Charleston a gift of four barrels of rice, which were sent by Zubly. The latter also sent him a gold-piece in a letter.¹⁸⁴

Zubly's reputation was now fully established. He was fond of literature and had published a number of books and pamphlets. A devotional book, issued in 1756—entitled "*The Real Christian's Hope in Death*"—was probably the earliest volume in the English language in America by a German Reformed minister. It must have been extensively circulated, for it appeared in several editions.¹⁸⁵

In 1770 Princeton College conferred upon Zubly the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and on this occasion he prepared a Latin thesis. That he was highly esteemed is certain. The Reverend H. M. Mühlenberg, who visited him in 1774, says in his "*Journal*":

"October 28: According to invitation I and my family dined with Rev. Dr. Zubly, and I spent the afternoon very pleasantly with him in his library and study. He is an experienced, influential, learned, prudent and very industrious man of a sanguine temperament. He has a larger

¹⁸⁴ "*Hallesche Nachr.*," new ed., II., pp. 182 and 224.

¹⁸⁵ Dr. Good gives a list of 14 publications by Dr. Zubly. Some of the titles are, however, taken from Saur's paper, and of some pamphlets there is no extant copy.

THE
Real Christians
H O P E
 IN
D E A T H;
 OR

An Account of the edifying Behaviour of several Persons of Piety in their last Moments,

With a Preface recommendatory by the
 Rev. Mr. CLARKE, Rector of St. PHILIPS
 CHARLESTOWN,

Collected and published

BY

J. J. ZUBLY.

Minister of the Gospel in SOUTH-CAROLINA.

Behold the Upright, for the End of that Man is Peace.
Psalms. 37, 37.

GERMANTOWN.

Printed by CHRISTOPHER SOWER.
 M DCC LVI.

collection of fine books than I have seen elsewhere in America. The external appearance of his library is not surpassed by the most superior in Germany."

In Savannah peculiar circumstances made Zubly a civil as well as a religious leader. He took a profound interest in the political questions of the day, and was active among the "Sons of Liberty." In his published writings he denounced the measures of the British ministry in unmistakable language. Discussing the suggestions made in England to arm the slaves in order to enforce obedience to British rule, he wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth as follows: "Proposals publicly made by ministerial writers relative to American domestics have laid the southern provinces under the necessity of arming themselves. A proposal to put it in the power of domestics to cut the throats of their masters can only serve to cover the proposers and abettors with everlasting infamy. The Americans have been called a rope of sand; but blood and sand will make a firm cementation, and enough American blood has already been shed to cement them together into a three-fold cord not easily to be broken."

Zubly's election to membership in the Continental Congress is thus recorded:¹⁸⁶

"July, 1775. Provincial Congress of Georgia, John Houston, Archibald Bullock, Rev. Dr. Zubly, Noble W. Jones and Lyman Hall were duly elected to represent Georgia in the Continental Congress. Dr. Zubly said he was greatly surprised and could not accept the honor without the consent of his congregation. Messrs. Noble W. Jones and John Houston were appointed a committee to interview the members of Dr. Zubly's church, and to request their permission that he absent himself from his

¹⁸⁶ Jones's "History of Georgia," Vol. I., pp. 188-189.

charge for a season in order that he might perform the important duties devolved upon him by this congress. Four days afterwards those gentleman reported that they had conferred with the congregation and the members expressed a willingness to spare their minister for a time for a good of the common cause. Dr. Zubly, thereupon, declared his acceptance of the appointment, and thanked the Congress for this mark of honor and confidence." "Dr. Zubly was selected to prepare a petition to the King upon the present unhappy situation of affairs, and was also appointed chairman of a committee to address a letter to the president of the Continental Congress acquainting him fully with the proceedings of this Congress. He was also made chairman to frame an address to be presented by Congress to Governor Wright."

Strange as it may seem Zubly appears at this time to have had no idea of a possible separation from the mother country. He went to Congress in the hope of aiding in the settlement of existing difficulties. He was willing to contend with a tyrannical ministry, but not to renounce his allegiance to his King. He had declared in print: "I do not regard independence as a remedy for our troubles, but rather as a new and dangerous disease." From this point of view his course in Congress was perfectly consistent. Naturally he became a thorn in the side of the radical party, and it was determined to destroy his influence. Judge Samuel Chase arose in Congress and denounced him for corresponding with the Colonial governor of Georgia, Sir James Wright—as though that had not been practically the very thing which his constituents had directed him to do. Charges of disloyalty were made against him, and in the excitement of the hour he determined to return to Georgia, to defend himself to his constituents. It was an imprudent

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Goldliche

Wo du dich zu mir haltest. So wilt dich mich zu dir
halten. Und soll mein Prediger bleiben.

Declaration

Remacht in
 Currys haw
 in South
 Carolina
 in
 Granville
 County.
 Anno Domini



Wo wunſchet dann mich
Liebes Heil, und ſich
neſ auch mit Liebes
Hand
Der des Heizers
Lustriſt und da
viß duſt wirt
genant.

Wahrlich mein Kind. mit du soltes. Dieser seine
so schreie dich zur Anfechtung.

Exhortation

THE LAW OF LIBERTY.

A S E R M O N

ON

AMERICAN AFFAIRS,

PREACHED

AT THE OPENING OF THE PROVINCIAL
CONGRESS OF GEORGIA.

ADDRESSED

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF *DARTMOUTH*.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

GIVING A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE STRUGGLES OF
SWISSERLAND TO RECOVER THEIR LIBERTY.

BY. JOHN J. ZUBLY, D.D.

EPHRAIM shall not envy JUDAH,
And JUDAH shall not vex EPHRAIM. Isa. xi. 13.

PHILADELPHIA PRINTED,

A N D

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House, in Piccadilly.

MDCCCLXXV.

(Courtesy of Professor Hinke.)

course, as it was construed into a confession of guilt. When he arrived at home he found that the trend of popular sentiment had changed and he was practically left without supporters. He became that most unfortunate of men—a politician who in times of great popular convulsion attempts to take a middle course.

Zubly was treated very badly, and that by both parties. It is said that in 1777 he was banished from Savannah with the loss of one-third of his property; and that when the British took the town the work of spoliation was continued by soldiers who knew no more than that he had been a “rebel” leader.

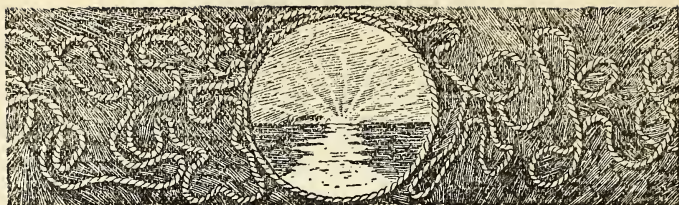
At last there came a period of reaction, and it was felt that Zubly had been treated with unnecessary severity. His congregation sought him out and he was brought back to his former charge in Savannah. For several years he attended to his pastoral duties, but it may well be supposed that he knew himself to be a broken man. He died August 21, 1781. As is usual in such instances his services were best appreciated after he had passed away, and two prominent streets in Savannah—Joachim and Zubly—were named in his honor. A suburb of the city is said to be still known as St. Gall, in commemoration of his birthplace.

If Zubly had remained in Congress a few months longer he would no doubt have become a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and as such he would have been highly esteemed, especially as representing the German element in that great convention. As it is he is practically forgotten, and recent investigators have found it no easy task to bring together the facts that mark his history.

That Zubly was devout and eloquent will not be denied, and in his own way he was no doubt a faithful laborer in

the Church ; but he dissipated his strength in many undertakings, and utterly failed to recognize the necessity of general organization. Not one of the congregations which he founded is now in connection with the Reformed Church ; and indeed, with one or two exceptions, they are no longer in existence. Recognizing the fact that he was in many respects the most eminent German Reformed minister of the Colonial period, we are, therefore, reluctantly forced to the conclusion that his career—in the Church no less than in the State—can hardly be accounted more than a brilliant failure.

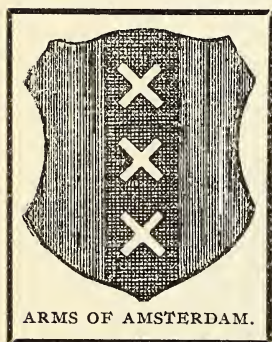




CHAPTER XIII.

SOME INDEPENDENT MINISTERS.

Reasons for Independence—In the Mohawk Valley—Pennsylvania Independents—Theus and the Weberites—Corpus Evangelicum.



THAT there were German Reformed ministers in America who were not members of Coetus has been frequently intimated in the preceding pages. We may, however, have failed to create the impression that they actually occupied the greater part of the territory of the Church; and it is therefore necessary to remind the reader that in almost all the British colonies—not even excluding New England—there were German settlements which desired religious instruction. That the Coetus was unable to supply their necessities goes without saying, and they became the natural prey of the “lopers.” Of most of these wanderers—whose only credentials were a black coat—it may be well to say as little as possible; and the fact that the names of many of them are forgotten is not greatly to be regretted.

It would, however, be an error to include all independent ministers in this disreputable class. Some were no doubt good men who absented themselves from Coetus

on account of the remoteness of their residence. Others, whose scholastic training had been defective, were excluded by the stern decree of the synods of Holland, though they may have done excellent work in their immediate field.

From our point of view almost all the German Reformed ministers of the province of New York may be regarded as independent, though some of them were at times loosely connected with the Dutch Coetus. No doubt the Dutch Coetus might have gathered them all, but it was not an energetic body and seems to have put forth no efforts in this direction.

In 1758 the Rev. Abraham Rosenkrantz founded the German Reformed church of the City of New York. This was done with the full approval of the Dutch ministers, but for many years the church and its pastor were practically independent. Rosenkrantz is described as a man of considerable ability and force of character. He was married to a sister of General Herkimer, "the hero of Oriskany." He left New York about 1760, and after this, says Benton, "his field was the whole Mohawk valley."¹⁸⁷ He died at Little Falls in 1794. His successor, the Rev. John P. Spinner (1768-1848) was a native of Germany, but became fully identified with the Reformed Dutch Church. He was the father of General Francis E. Spinner, who was for many years treasurer of the United States.

The Reverend John Michael Kern, a native of Mannheim, in Germany, must be numbered with the Independents, at least during a part of his career. He was sent in 1763 by the Consistory of Heidelberg to take charge

¹⁸⁷ "History of Herkimer County," p. 356.

of the German church on Nassau street, New York.¹⁸⁸ Identifying himself with the Dutch Church he soon became a leader of the Amsterdam, or foreign, party, as opposed to those desirous of home government in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. In 1772 he removed to Montgomery, N. Y., where he remained until the commencement of the Revolutionary War. He bore the reputation of being a man of extraordinary learning. He was an enthusiastic Loyalist, and his congregation maintaining opposite political principles, he resigned his charge, went to Halifax, and remained there until peace was declared. In 1788 he returned and located in Rockhill Township, Bucks County, Pa., where he died, March 22 of the same year. He was buried at Indianfield, and members of that congregation have recently erected a modest memorial to his memory.

John Jacob Wack belongs to a somewhat later period, but may be mentioned in this connection as the last of the distinctively German pastors of the Mohawk valley. He was born in Philadelphia, June 14, 1774, and died at Ephratah, N. Y., May 26, 1851. He studied under his brother, Caspar Wack, from whom, however, he differed greatly in general disposition. Having for several years preached in New Jersey, he served for some time as an army chaplain, and in 1803 became pastor at Fort Plain and Stone Arabia. He was physically and mentally a strong man, and Corwin tells us that "he resembled a bishop in his diocese more than an ordinary country pastor." He was in 1816 suspended on the ground of intemperance, but his congregation refused to recognize the decree and became independent. It is known,

¹⁸⁸ Lossing's "Historical Record," Vol. II., p. 23.

however, that they regarded themselves as in some way subordinate to the German Coetus.

In Pennsylvania there was among the Independents no man of commanding influence, unless such distinction should be awarded to Stoy.

FREDERICK CASIMIR MILLER is described as a vigorous opponent of Schlatter. He had been a schoolmaster at Goshenhoppen, but at the time of the arrival of Weiss from New York was preaching to a part of the congregation. In 1753 he applied for membership in the Coetus, but was rejected on the ground of an offensive life. He seems, however, in later years to have avoided scandal, and became the founder of many churches.

PHILIP JACOB MICHAEL (1716-1772) was originally a weaver—some say a mason—but began to preach in eastern Berks County as early as 1750. In 1764 he applied to Coetus for ordination, and was favorably recommended to the Fathers in Holland. The testimonial declares that he had faithfully served his congregations for fourteen years and was no “landloper.” At this time he served twelve congregations. The Hollanders, however, refused the request, unless Michael would come to Holland to receive the rite, which was out of the question. The minutes of Coetus for 1765 say: “We will say no more about Michael, as the Dutch Church does not desire him to be received. He is an old man, and his congregations are satisfied with him without ordination.”

PITHAN or BITTHAHN was an itinerant whose course may be traced from Pennsylvania to North Carolina. He had been a minister in the Palatinate, and was a man of some learning. The minutes of Coetus for 1769 say rather suggestively: “Pithan has been permitted to supply Easton. If he had been unworthy he would have taken a

charge without asking us." Unfortunately his moral weakness prevented him from remaining very long, and in time he became a wanderer.

Eyerman, who was pastor at Saucon and Springfield, derived some notoriety from the fact that he was badly mixed up in the Fries Rebellion. The published accounts of the succeeding trials for treason give us a good idea of his peculiar disposition.

Ulrich Heininger has not hitherto been mentioned by historians. He preached in the neighborhood of Landisburg, Perry County, from 1789 to 1802, and possibly longer. Tradition represents him as a worthy man.

To attempt to enumerate the independent Reformed preachers of Pennsylvania would be to furnish a somewhat dreary catalogue. The materials for further investigation are, however, easily accessible. We may possibly incidentally refer to some of them hereafter.

South of the Potomac the Independents were at one time in possession of the whole field. There were, of course, some good pastors; but the churches were in general neglected, and many of them were lost to the denomination.

The Reverend Christian Theus, of South Carolina, appears to have been an interesting character, but little is known of his personal history. He was a native of Switzerland, and had a brother in Charleston who was an eminent artist. That he was related to the Deiss, or Tice, family of Pennsylvania, is an old tradition. He preached near Columbia for 50 years at least, until 1789 or later. Bernheim relates how he came into collision with the fanatical sect known as the Weberites¹⁸⁹ and barely escaped with his life.

¹⁸⁹ A mystical sect founded by Jacob Weber, a Swiss, before 1760. They declared themselves to be incarnations of the deity, or of persons mentioned in the Scriptures. Weber, who declared himself to be God, killed a man whom

In 1787 Theus and another Reformed minister, named Carl Froelich, joined with three Lutheran ministers in an attempt to unite the German churches of South Carolina. This union received the double Latin name of *Corpus Evangelicum* and *Unio Ecclesiastica*. It was expressly provided that there should be no change of confession, but that such liturgies and catechisms should be used as the majority of each united congregation might prefer. As the Reformed were generally in the minority the result might easily have been expected. The chief interest in this movement is found in the fact that it anticipated the Prussian church union of 1817 in some of its most important particulars.

After the death of Mr. Theus a wealthy family, named Geiger,¹⁹⁰ erected a monument over his grave. The congregations which he had served lingered some thirty or forty years, but their independent preachers are hardly known even by name. In the far South—as in many other regions—the failure of the work of the Reformed Church was due to a lack of faithful pastors.

he called Satan, and was executed for the crime. Mühlberg says: "The English inhabitants scoffed about it, and said the Germans had nothing to fear, their Devil having been killed and their God having been hanged."

¹⁹⁰ To this family belonged Margaret Geiger, whom Mrs. Ellet calls one of the heroines of the Revolution. She rode a great distance at night and conveyed important information to General Greene.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE MEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

Patriotic Ministers—Generals Herkimer and Steuben—Letter to Washington.



THE period of the Revolution must always be peculiarly interesting to Americans. It may, indeed, be asserted that it has been unduly glorified by poetry and romance, and that many of its characters have been magnified beyond their proper proportions. We may perhaps acknowledge that into the early history of a nation the mythical element is sure to intrude; but for this very reason it is important that facts which may be regarded as of minor importance should be gathered and preserved.

That the great majority of the church people—Reformed and Lutheran—were in favor of political independence, may be regarded as certain. The very fact that they recognized the lawfulness of defensive war drew a line between them and the non-resistant sects who were thus placed in a position antagonistic to the policy of Congress.

In looking over the extant muster-rolls of Pennsylvania regiments we observe the great number of German names; and there surely can be no difficulty in determining the class of people from whom they were generally derived.

Though, as we have intimated, several Reformed ministers were Loyalists, we do not think that any one of these could be properly regarded as a Pennsylvanian. As early as August, 1775, the Reformed and Lutheran congregations of Philadelphia, in association with the German Society, published an appeal for liberty from British oppression. A number of Reformed ministers served as chaplains in the American army, and several were actually imprisoned by the British for their devotion to the patriot cause. Harbaugh has preserved a number of instances in which preachers indicated their sentiments by the choice of peculiar texts. The Reverend John H. Weikel—an independent—got into trouble at the beginning of the war, by preaching in Boehm's church, Montgomery County, on the text: "Better is a poor and wise child than an old and foolish king who will not be admonished," *Ecclesiastes*, vi, 13. Dr. Weyberg, of Philadelphia, was imprisoned for his patriotism, and his church was occupied by British soldiers. The church was so greatly injured by this occupation that the cost of repairing it was \$15,200—though this was, of course, in continental money which was considerably depreciated. On the Sunday after his release from prison Dr. Weyberg addressed his congregation on the words, "O God! the heathen have come into Thy inheritance: Thy holy temple have they defiled."

The Reverend J. C. A. Helffenstein was pastor at Lancaster at the time when the captive Hessians were kept there and it frequently became his duty to preach to them. On one occasion he preached on the text, *Isaiah* 53: 3.

“For thus says the Lord, Ye have sold yourselves for nought and ye shall be redeemed without money.” Soon afterwards he preached a sermon in the evening on the words: “If the son make you free, ye shall be free indeed”; when the excitement became so great that it was deemed necessary to accompany him home with a guard. Once he preached to the American soldiers on their departure for the scene of conflict on the passage: “If God be for us who can be against us?”

The Reformed Church certainly had its full proportion of the men who distinguished themselves on the field of battle. Leaving out of consideration men like Philip Schuyler, who belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, we must not forget “the hero of Oriskany.” Nicholas Herkimer (1715-77) always wrote his name Herchheimer. His father was a Palatine and one of the original patentees of Burnetsfield, and assisted in founding the church of which the Rev. George Michael Weiss was pastor. The son was a plain, uneducated man, but was a military genius and won a great reputation during the French and Indian War. In the Revolution, when Fort Stanwix was invested by a force of British regulars aided by Brant’s Indians, Herkimer led a body of militia to the relief of the garrison; but was surprised by Col. St. Leger and severely wounded. His subordinates wished him to retire, but he took his seat under a tree and smoked his pipe while giving orders for the battle. By his persistent bravery the enemy was repulsed, but Herkimer died of his wound, or rather of an unskilful amputation. The scene of his victory is marked by a splendid monument.

Baron Frederick William von Steuben was the most celebrated of the American generals who were identified with the Reformed Church. He was born in Magdeburg,

Germany, Nov. 15, 1730, and died at Steubenville, N. Y., Nov. 28, 1794. His career is so well known that it seems useless to enlarge upon it. Every school history relates how he served under the great Frederick during the Seven Years' War, and how after an interval of dignity and repose he was finally induced to cast in his lot with the struggling



Le Baron de Steuben

colonists. Of all the foreign generals who took the part of the Americans during the war of the Revolution, Steuben appears to us to have been the one whose motives were least open to misconstruction, and whose career is throughout most completely satisfactory. As Inspector General of the American army he took charge of the matter of discipline, and it has been said that after he had drilled the soldiers they were never beaten in a fair fight. At Yorktown he held an independent command and gained the highest distinction.

These facts may be regarded as thoroughly familiar; but it may not be so well known that when the war was over Steuben sought out the church of his fathers and took an active interest in its affairs. He connected himself with the German Reformed church on Nassau street, New York, and was for some years regarded as its most eminent member. He was a ruling elder, and several times wrote the minutes of the consistory in the absence of the regular secretary. His death occurred at his country residence, but his aide, Colonel North, erected a tablet to his memory on the walls of the church of which he was a member, and there it may still be seen.¹⁹¹

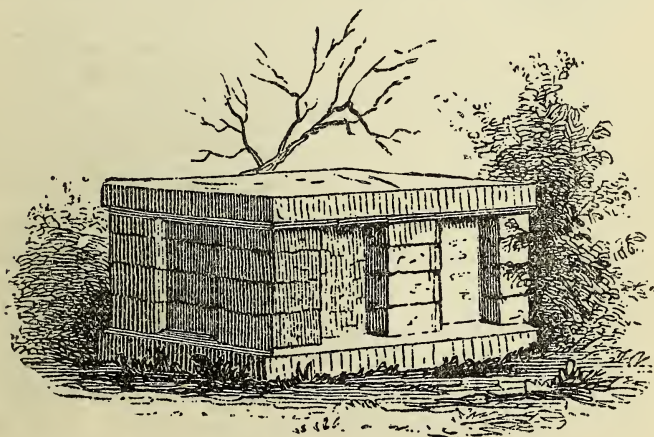
A number of eminent officers of inferior rank were identified with the Reformed Church. Among these may be mentioned Colonels Frederick Antes, Peter Kichlein, Henry Spyker, Lewis Farmer, Peter Nagle and Nicholas Lutz; and to these might be added the Hiester family, one of whom subsequently became Governor of Pennsylvania, and such well-known names as John Arndt, John Gloninger and Valentine Eckert—not forgetting Michael Hillegas, who was Treasurer of the United States during this momentous period.

The minutes of Coetus contain little that bears directly on the progress of the war of the Revolution. In 1777 the Coetus prayed the "Fathers" to use their influence to secure mediation between the contending parties. Days of fasting and prayer were appointed, and in 1780 no meeting could be held on account of the disturbed condition of the country. In 1781 a pastor (Dubbendorff) is said to have lost his influence because he was suspected of sympathizing with the British. The report for 1786

¹⁹¹ The church has been removed to Norfolk street, but the tablet has been preserved. The congregation is still German, but now belongs to the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America. Of this congregation the first John Jacob Astor was a member until his death.

contains the following curious item: "The people have grown luxurious since peace has been declared, and do not recognize with gratitude the great things which God has done for them. O, that Americans would continue to wear home-made clothes, and to live simply as they did in the so-called continental times." As marking the beginning of the first national period of our secular history, the following brief extract from the Coetal minutes of 1789 may not be destitute of interest: "As General Washington has been elected President, it was resolved to send him a letter of congratulation. The committee consists of Weyberg, Gros, Blumer, and three elders, Col. Farmer and Messrs. Grosskoup and Arndt, both esquires."

For many years after the Revolution the Loyalists, or Tories, were utterly condemned by popular sentiment; but we have now learned to appreciate the fact that there were good men on both sides of that momentous struggle. It is, however, pleasant to be assured that the great majority of our ecclesiastical predecessors were decided in their support of the cause which led to national independence.



TOMB OF BARON STEUBEN.



CHAPTER XV.

OTTERBEIN AND THE "UNITED MINISTERS."

Early Training—Pastoral Charges—Otterbein and Lange—Conflicts in Baltimore—the "New Reformed."



WHEN Schlatter was about to bring his little company of Reformed ministers to America, he said in a report to the deputies that Otterbein was "quiet and pious." This judgment was justified by a long career of labor and devotion; and though Otterbein could not escape the opposition which comes to all men, it may be confidently asserted that there was no other mem-

ber of Coetus who was at all times so generally esteemed. As in his later years he joined with several other Reformed ministers in an evangelical movement which finally resulted in the establishment of a separate religious denomination, his relation to the Reformed Church has frequently been misunderstood; and it is therefore desirable—while avoiding all material that can properly be regarded as controversial—to furnish a brief sketch of his personal history.

Philip William Otterbein was born June 3, 1726, at Dillenbourg, Nassau. His father and grandfather had been

Le s e b u c h

f ü r

Deutsche Schulkinder.

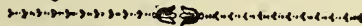
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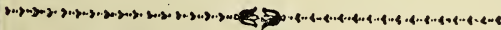
Georg Gottfried Otterbein,

Diener des göttlichen Wortes zu Duisburg am Rhein.

31



Mit Veränderungen und Zusätzen,
zum Gebrauch Nord-Amerikanischer Schulen.



Philadelphia, 1795.

Gedruckt und verlegt bey Carl Cist.

Reformed ministers, and five of his brothers also assumed the sacred office. Of his brothers several became eminent, and one was a successful religious author.¹⁹² The whole family was unusually devout, and seems to have been greatly under the influence of the religious movement of which such men as Theodore Untereyck and Gerhard Tersteegen had been distinguished exponents.

William—for by this name he was always known—received a good education at Herborn, and was subsequently ordained to the ministry. He was pastor at Fliesbach when Schlatter invited him to accompany him to Pennsylvania; but did not hesitate to undertake the work to which he was called.

Immediately after his arrival in America Otterbein was called to the pastorate of the church in Lancaster, which was then, next to Philadelphia, the most important in the province. His immediate predecessors had left the congregation rent and distracted. His sincerity and enthusiasm were, however, irresistible, and the scattered elements were soon reunited. A church was erected which remained standing until 1853. He insisted earnestly on church discipline, and a document signed by many of his members is still extant, pledging them to the strictest observance of their duties. In the minutes of Coetus for 1757 he is called “an excellent pastor.”

Besides preaching in Lancaster and New Providence Otterbein served as a member of two committees of supply, which rendered it necessary for him to preach occasionally in Reading and at Conewago, Adams County, and for

¹⁹² Georg Gottfried Otterbein (1731-1736) was a younger brother of Philip William. He was the author of three volumes on the Heidelberg Catechism, and of several text-books for schools. The title-page which is here reproduced has been kindly contributed by Mr. Sachse. The American edition has been hitherto unknown.

some time he also preached at York. These were no doubt the "itinerant labors" to which he referred in his old age as having been undertaken while he was pastor in Lancaster.

In 1758 Otterbein left Lancaster rather suddenly. He had intended to visit his relatives in Europe, but was prevented, it is said, by a war which was then raging. When he subsequently remonstrated with Steiner for irregularly accepting a call to Philadelphia the latter retorted: "If I were to make myself a judge of your conduct I would say: 'Your departure from Lancaster and your delay in making your proposed journey to the fatherland do not please me.' * * * But as I do not know your private motives, I cannot presume to judge."¹⁹³ From 1758 to 1760

Otterbein

Otterbein was pastor at Tulpehocken. He is said, in the minutes of Coetus, to have labored "with a blessing." In 1759 he declined a call to Frederick, Md. In a letter to Holland, in 1760, the following passage appears: "We announce with pleasure that Domine Otterbein has determined to remain longer with us. He still labors with great energy and success in Tulpehocken. Occasionally he makes a journey to Fredericktown, in Maryland, in order to keep together the sheep who were left without a shepherd by Domine Steiner, and to feed them with the word of God."

In the same year the call from Frederick was renewed, and it was the judgment of the Coetus that it should be accepted "on account of the isolated position of the church."

¹⁹³ Mayer MSS., I, p. 114.

On the 19th of April, 1762, Otterbein was married to Susan Le Roy, of Lancaster, Pa. She was no doubt a near relative of Jean Jacques Le Roy, an Indian trader who was killed by the savages at Mahoning in 1755, and whose family subsequently resided in Lancaster.¹⁹⁴ One of her sisters was married to the Rev. Dr. William Hendel. We know nothing concerning Otterbein's domestic life, except that his wife died April 27, 1768, aged 32 years and 5 months,¹⁹⁵ leaving no children. Her husband remained a widower until his death.

During the five years which he spent in Frederick, Otterbein accomplished a great work. A fine church and parsonage were erected, and the congregation manifested a degree of energy to which it had previously been a stranger. The pastor was, however, violently opposed by a party who regarded his methods as new and revolutionary. In the English churches he would have been called a "New Light," for he insisted strongly on personal religious experience, and held frequent prayer meetings in which the members of the church were expected to take an active part. It has been intimated that Otterbein's "new measures" rendered him unpopular in the Coetus, and led to persecution, but this is undoubtedly a mistake. Most of the members of Coetus had been educated under pietistic influences and thoroughly sympathized with Otterbein.

In 1765 Otterbein accepted a call to York, Pa., holding this pastorate until 1774. Here he was very popular, so that though he was absent in 1770 and 1771, on a visit to his relatives in Germany, his people refused to give him up.

It was in 1767 that Otterbein's religious methods first claimed the official attention of Coetus. The Rev. Charles

¹⁹⁴ Rupp's "History of Lancaster County," p. 354.

¹⁹⁵ Records of First Reformed Church, Lancaster.

Lange had in the meantime become pastor at Frederick. He was decidedly opposed to Otterbein's revivals, and even went so far as to bring charges against him. How he was received by Coetus becomes evident from the following section of the minutes, which though somewhat extended is worthy of translation :

“ Complaints between D. Otterbein, D. Lange and the congregation at Fredericktown.

“ The circumstances are as follows : When D. Otterbein removed from Frederick to York the congregation was without a pastor for a whole year. Certain members, therefore, met on Sundays, and one of them read a passage from the Scriptures or a book of sermons, or they occupied themselves with religious discourse ; sometimes they sung a psalm or hymn and prayed. Other members did nothing of the kind, but spoke against them.

“ This was the state of affairs before D. Lange went there. Although he had been informed of the matter, he at once took the side of those who had opposed the meetings. He was therefore accused to Coetus by many members of the congregation of having publicly and privately used all kinds of objectionable and contemptuous language against those who attended the meetings, also accusing them of sectarianism without giving a reason for his accusation. Therefore, they no longer attended his preaching. They further accused him of improper expressions in spiritual matters.

“ After D. Lange had been some time in Frederick, D. Otterbein went there on business. He preached there one Sunday, and afterwards D. Lange forbade him the pulpit, that he should not preach in the church when he came to that place.

“Lange had a great deal to say (before Coetus) against D. Otterbein’s preaching. He accused him of despising public worship, the sacraments, the ministry, and also of scattering the congregation. In proof of his accusations he referred to the sermon which D. Otterbein had preached on the previous day at the opening of Coetus. D. Otterbein defended himself against all the charges which D. Lange had brought against him, declaring himself to be in all respects orthodox, leaving his sermon to the judgment of the ministers, because all who were present had heard it.

“After all this had been minutely presented, the following conclusions were drawn from the facts :

“(a) That neither in general doctrine nor especially in the sermon which he preached at the opening of Coetus can D. Otterbein be justly charged with contempt of worship, of the sacraments, nor of the ministry ; nor can he be charged with scattering the congregation.

“(b) That it is not contrary to the teaching of our church for people to meet occasionally for prayer and to study the word of God.

“(c) That no congregation which belongs to Coetus has a right to forbid its pulpit to a member of the same on its own responsibility and without the knowledge of the Coetus.

“(d) That D. Lange should as soon as possible be removed to another congregation. If the congregation in Fredericktown becomes harmonious it shall again be supplied with a regular pastor ; and if they call a member of Coetus he may accept the call with the approval of Coetus.

“(e) That on account of imprudent remarks concerning divine things D. Lange be required to confess his error.

“D. Lange made the required confession. It was then

resolved that, on account of his confession and promise of amendment, D. Lange shall be regarded as a member of Coetus until additional charges are presented."

It subsequently appeared that Lange was an unworthy man, and in later minutes he is termed "a lost brother." We have, however, quoted this action to show how completely the Coetus sympathized with Otterbein.

For several years there had been a conflict in Baltimore which threatened the destruction of the congregation. To relate its particulars would demand more space than we can possibly afford. It may, however, be briefly said that in its earliest years the congregation was not connected with synod and we are therefore unable to determine the date of its organization. The Rev. John Christopher Faber—a relative of John Theobald Faber—was called to the pastorate in 1768; but his services failed to prove acceptable to the most devout people in the congregation. Another ground of objection, according to a statement subsequently entered by Otterbein on the records of his congregation, was found in the fact that he was not a member of Coetus. In 1770 an effort was made to remove Mr. Faber, but it proved unsuccessful, and the party opposing him then withdrew and built a chapel, though neither party regarded the separation as final, and by mutual consent the whole matter was referred to Coetus.

Benedict Schwob, or Swope,¹⁹⁶ became the pastor of the seceding congregation, though as yet he had not been ordained. He had been a ruling elder in St. Benjamin's church, near Westminster, Md., as early as 1763, but of his preparation for the ministry we have no information. From his extant German manuscript we conclude that he

¹⁹⁶ The name was variously written, even by its owner. No doubt it was originally Schwab.

was very imperfectly educated; but he must have developed unusual oratorical talent. His congregation earnestly desired his ordination, and the Coetus after long deliberation complied with their request on the ground of the necessities of the Church in Maryland. The act was irregular, but was condoned by the authorities in Holland, because Maryland did not "fall within their jurisdiction."

For several years the minutes of Coetus were burdened with the affairs of the Church in Baltimore, and every effort was made to reunite the parties. At last it was determined that both ministers should withdraw to make room for a new pastor. This was believed to be a final settlement, and Faber at once removed to Taneytown. Schwob unfortunately remained in Baltimore some time longer, and the old church accused him of unfaithfulness to the agreement. On this ground they extended a call to George Frederick Wallauer, a minister who had come independently from Germany and had not been admitted to Coetus. By this act the last hope of reunion was destroyed, and the first church was for some years regarded as independent of Coetus.

The second church had repeatedly requested Mr. Otterbein to become its pastor, and finally in 1774 he accepted the call. The Coetus had previously expressed its doubt as to the propriety of the settlement on account of the prejudice of one of the parties, but in 1775 the call was regularly confirmed. At the same time the Coetus expressed its satisfaction that "his labors are blest and the opposing party cease from strife."

For nearly thirty-nine years Mr. Otterbein was pastor of the second church of Baltimore. The congregation did not grow rapidly, as the records show, but the members remained sincerely attached to their pastor, though he was

often absent on account of general evangelistic work. There was a certain rivalry between the two Reformed congregations which occasionally became acute; but Otterbein always remained a member of Coetus in good and regular standing. In 1788, in writing to the synods of Holland, he relates the history of his congregation and then adds: "The schism occurred in my absence. I took charge of that portion of the congregation which was always submissive to Coetus and sought for discipline and order. To take charge of them was with me a matter of conscience. Therefore I have the approval of Coetus."

In 1774 Otterbein made the acquaintance of Francis Asbury, the pioneer of American Methodism. As is well known, the latter did not propose to establish a separate religious denomination; but in furtherance of the movement inaugurated by Wesley and his coadjutors, he founded societies whose sole condition of membership was "a desire to flee the wrath to come and be freed from sin."¹⁹⁷ The sacraments were not administered in these Methodist societies, but the class system was introduced, and some of the "leaders" then appointed subsequently became earnest Methodist ministers.

With the general features of this system Otterbein must have been familiar from childhood. It was based on the pietistic idea of the "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*," which had been familiar to the Reformed people of Germany since the days of Jean de Labadie. What was more natural than that it should seem to furnish an answer to what was then a burning question, especially in Maryland? The people were everywhere clamoring for religious instruction, but there were but few ministers and some of the widely scattered congregations were but rarely visited. The only

¹⁹⁷ American Cyclopædia. Article, "Methodism."

practicable expedient seemed to be to enlist the laity in the work of the Church ; and Otterbein and Schwob proceeded to organize societies or classes in all the churches to which their influence extended. These societies were to meet as often as possible for religious edification and their leaders were to aid their pastors in promoting devotion and in exercising proper discipline. Semi-annual conferences were held, at which reports were presented from the several societies or classes.

In 1883 the present writer discovered the minutes of five of these conferences among the records of St. Benjamin's church, near Westminster, Maryland, which is situated in the region once known as "Pipe Creek."¹⁹⁸ From these minutes it appears that the movement was at that time confined to the Reformed Church. It included, we believe, all the Reformed pastors in Maryland, except Wallauer and Faber, whose absence is easily explained, and several Pennsylvania charges were also represented. The pastors who signed the minutes, besides Otterbein and Schwob, were Jacob Weimer, of Hagerstown, F. L. Henop, of Frederick, Daniel Wagner, of York, Pa., and William Hendel, of Tulpehocken, Pa. The class-leaders were among the most devout and influential members of the Church.

Unfortunately these minutes are not complete. They begin May 29, 1774, and end abruptly on the 2d of June, 1776, though the conference adjourned to meet on the 2d of October of the latter year at the house of Jacob Wilt in Conewago.¹⁹⁹ Whether the meetings were con-

¹⁹⁸ These minutes were published by the author in an article in the *Reformed Quarterly Review*, for January, 1884, and were reprinted by Drury in his "Life of Otterbein."

¹⁹⁹ Christ church, near Littlestown, Adams County, Pa.

tinued we do not know. Probably they were suspended during the period of the Revolution, to be subsequently revived in a somewhat different form.

In 1776 the "United Ministers" ordained Henry Weider, who had been one of the earliest class-leaders. The fact was not reported to the authorities in Holland, possibly on the ground that Maryland did not "fall within their jurisdiction." Weider does not seem to have been very active in the ministry, but as late as 1790 he was pastor of the Bermudian church in Adams County, Pa.²⁰⁰ George Adam Gueting²⁰¹ was another of the early class-leaders. Otterbein instructed him in theology and in 1783 brought him to Coetus for examination and ordination. Greatly to the displeasure of the Hollanders the Coetus ordained him, on the ground of "the necessities of the Church in Maryland," but he never became an active member. He was an enthusiast of the most pronounced type, and conducted the "big meetings" on the Antietam which are not yet forgotten. In this respect he went much farther than Mr. Otterbein, who was more quiet and reflective. It was probably greatly due to him that the class-system was revived, but Otterbein was the only one of the original Reformed "United Ministers" who continued to attend the conferences.²⁰² Members of other denominations took a prominent part, and peculiarities were developed which are familiar to all who have studied the history of early Methodism. Otterbein evidently had no idea of establishing a separate denomination; it was to him a "society" rather

²⁰⁰ Henry Weider was the step-father of Barbara Frietchie, the heroine of Whittier's ballad.

²⁰¹ The name was also written Guething and Geeting. Many members of the family now generally write their name "Keedy."

²⁰² Schwob had removed to East Tennessee, and had taken charge of several small Reformed churches; his later history is unknown.

than a church, and therefore from 1789 to 1804 he served as one of the superintendents of the movement. Martin Boehm, the other superintendent, was of Mennonite extraction, and was never in any way connected with the Reformed Church.

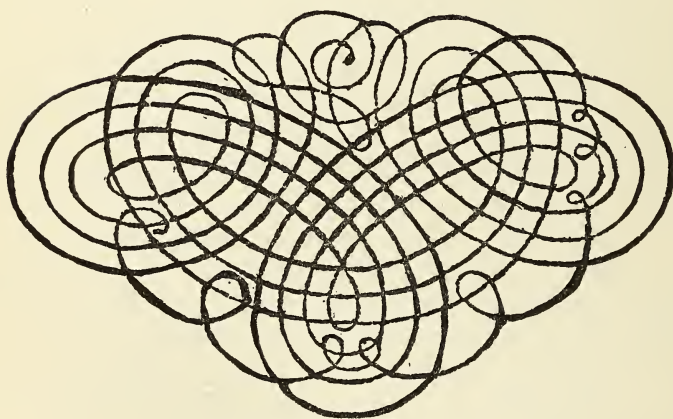
In 1804 occurred an event which, it has been said, "drove the wedge of separation." Gueting had become more and more irregular, and as he did not heed the admonitions of synod he was finally excluded by a vote of twenty to seventeen. The action was modified by the proviso that on manifesting a proper disposition he might at any time be restored. This action of the synod has been sharply criticised, but it is hard to see how with proper self-respect the decision could have been different. There was no reflection on Gueting's personal character, but the type of religion which he represented was certainly foreign to the genius of the Reformed Church, as it now began to be more thoroughly comprehended. It is believed that the action of synod was exactly what Mr. Gueting expected and desired. He became one of the chief organizers of the Church of the "United Brethren in Christ."

Mr. Otterbein remained pastor of the Second Evangelical Reformed Church until his death, which occurred October 17, 1813. There can, however, be no doubt that he was warmly attached to the men with whom he had labored, and the latter always regarded him with sincere affection. Popularly the "Brethren" were still known as "New Reformed"; but Otterbein must have foreseen that a separation was unavoidable and one of his last official acts was to give them a settled ministry by conferring on several of them the rite of ordination. Thus he sent them forth with his benediction, though he personally preferred to remain in the church of his fathers. When the

division came a number of others who had participated in the conferences declined to make the transition. Among these were J. D. Aurand, Henry Hiestand, John Ernst and Thomas Winters, who became worthy ministers of the Reformed Church. Winters says in his autobiography: "During this time" (between 1809 and 1815) "I was strongly urged to go into the organization of a new church, called the 'United Brethren in Christ,' which was then in process of formation and which did actually come into being; but like the great Otterbein whom I greatly loved and esteemed for his piety and talents, I preferred rather to live and die in the Reformed Church."

The congregation of which Otterbein was pastor was, however, so thoroughly permeated by the spirit of the movement in which he was actively engaged, that after his death it became possible to alienate it from the church to which it originally belonged. How highly Otterbein was esteemed appears in an official letter sent to Holland in 1788 from which we quote the following passage: "In reply to questions concerning Dominie Otterbein, it appears that it has never entered the minds of any one of the ministers to accuse him of erroneous views, or to bring charges against him, except in mentioning certain complaints, and then rather as a historical relation than as an accusation. Do. Otterbein has become old, gray, and almost helpless in the difficult service of the Gospel in America. He has done a great deal of good, he has labored earnestly for the salvation of many souls, and the purpose of his ministry—though it may not in the strictest sense have always accorded with the opinion of everyone—was edification and blessing—for what else could it be? He is surely a servant of the Lord, standing before the gates of eternity to give an account of his stewardship."

This document was signed, in behalf of the Coetus, by Albert Helffenstein and Frederick Dallicker. A more splendid testimonial could not have been composed, and it certainly justifies the reverence with which, in the Reformed Church, the memory of Otterbein has always been regarded.





CHAPTER XVI.

LATER YEARS OF THE COETUS, 1770-1792.

The Last Missionaries—Franklin College—Separation from Holland.



OUR sketch of the later years of the Coetus must necessarily be brief, though the period is not destitute of interest. During the war of the Revolution there were naturally few signs of progress, and in 1778 and 1780 no meeting of Coetus was held. The relations with Holland, however, remained unchanged, though the correspondence was frequently delayed by political conditions.

It is, indeed, remarkable that the German Coetus appeared to guard these relations more jealously than had been done by the Dutch Church of New York, though the latter had the additional tie of community in race and language. As early as 1767 the Rev. John Leydt appeared before the German Coetus as a delegate from "the Coetus of New Jersey and New York," proposing to open a correspondence and soliciting aid for a high-school in New Jer-

sey. In taking action on these subjects the German Coetus expresses its approval of both propositions "on condition that it does not affect our relations to Holland." "We will assist in establishing the high-school, having appreciated its necessity. It would be much better to prepare ministers in this country than to put the fathers to the expense of paying their expenses from Germany."²⁰³ Even the establishment of national independence created no desire for ecclesiastical separation. In 1785 the Coetus says: "We do not wish to be separated from the Church of Holland. This would be the basest ingratitude and the greatest folly."

The number of ministers sent from Holland in these latter years was not as large as the necessities of the Church demanded. In 1771 came Charles Louis Boehme and Abraham Blumer—men of culture and ability, to whom we have already referred. A year later arrived John Henry Helffrich,²⁰⁴ J. C. Albertus Helffenstein²⁰⁵ and John Gabriel Gebhart.²⁰⁶ All of these became eminent and influential. Helffrich and Helffenstein were half-brothers, and Gebhart had been the companion of their boyhood. Helffenstein's father, the Rev. Peter Helffenstein, was inspector of the Reformed churches of the dis-

²⁰³ Minutes of Coetus, 1767. This academy was preliminary to the foundation of Queen's College (now Rutgers), which was incorporated in 1770.

²⁰⁴ Helffrich became pastor (in 1772) of churches in Lehigh and Berks Counties and remained there until his death. The same charge has since been occupied by three generations of his descendants. His grandson, the late Rev. Wm. A. Helffrich, D.D., was the author of a number of excellent works in the German language.

²⁰⁵ Helffenstein was pastor at Germantown and Lancaster. Two volumes of his sermons were published after his death and one of them was translated into English. Four of his sons—Samuel, Charles, Jonathan and Albert—entered the ministry.

²⁰⁶ Gebhart, after serving the churches at Whitpain and Worcester for two years, removed to New York. He was pastor at Claverack for 50 years and founded the Washington Institute.

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trict of Sinsheim in the Palatinate. At one time he proposed to follow his son to America, but advancing years induced him to renounce the plan.²⁰⁷

Some of the ministers who were sent from Holland were not successful in their American labors. John William Ingold, who arrived in America in 1774, preached in many churches, but his conduct was irregular and in 1801 he was excluded from Synod. In 1785 came Andrew Loretz, Peter Paul Pernisius, and Bernhard Willy. As they all came from the Swiss canton of Graubündten (Grisons) they were generally known as "the three Graubündtners." When they arrived they were no longer young, but age does not seem to have brought them wisdom. The minutes of 1786 say: "Loretz has returned to Europe—the people cannot understand his speech."²⁰⁸ Pernisius would also return if he had the means." In this connection the secretary of Coetus says: "Old men are suspected by the people. Why should they have come to America at their time of life? They cannot accommodate themselves to new conditions." "The three Graubündtners have cost the fathers much money, and have done us no good." These men were all involved in scandals, though Willy afterwards regained his credit by faithful service in Virginia.

The last missionaries sent to America by the Church of Holland were George Trolldenier (1754–1800) and Le-

²⁰⁷ In the *Proceedings of the Lancaster County Historical Society* for January, 1897, are several letters from the Helffenstein family in Europe, contributed by the present writer. Among them is a letter from the Rev. Peter Helffenstein to his son in America, dated June 3, 1772, which contains the following rather remarkable advice: "When you make up your mind to get married consider virtue first of all, but also give some consideration to property; for a minister who does not secure some possessions by marriage is sure to suffer all his life."

²⁰⁸ Andrew Loretz must not be confounded with his son who bore the same name. The latter came to America a year or two later, and became a worthy minister in North Carolina.

brecht Frederick Herman (1761-1848). Both were natives of Anhalt-Cöthen, and were thoroughly educated. Trolldenier was a very successful preacher, but died young as pastor in Baltimore.²⁰⁹ Herman was in later years so prominent in the Church, especially as a preceptor of candidates for the ministry, that we shall have occasion to refer to him hereafter.

It is perfectly plain that the number of the ministers sent from Holland was not sufficient to meet the wants of the American Church; and yet "the fathers" persistently refused to grant to the Coetus the privilege of conferring the rite of ordination, and even of admitting ordained ministers without their consent. It is almost amusing to observe how frequently the Coetus transgressed in this respect, afterwards begging pardon. They usually asked permission to ordain certain candidates for the ministry, but when the answer was too long delayed they carried out their purpose on the ground of pressing necessity. Jacob Weimer, who founded the churches at Chambersburg and Greencastle, and was the first settled pastor at Hagerstown, Md., was ordained in this way. In 1772 the Coetus actually ordained five candidates who had been prepared

²⁰⁹ Many years ago the writer saw Dr. Herman's album, containing contributions from his fellow-students in Germany. Among them were several playful stanzas which have lingered in his memory, As is well known the word "Pfaff" is regarded as somewhat insulting, especially when applied to Protestant ministers; but on one of the pages of the album a young lawyer had written:

"Schöne Mädchen sind geschaffen
Für Juristen—nicht für Pfaffen.
Darum wählt ich diesen Orden
Sonst wär ich ein Pfaff geworden."

Immediately below this stanza George Trolldenier had written:

"Alle die da sagen Pfaffen
Zählt man unter die Zahl der Affen,
Mit einem hässlichen Gesicht;
Nein, das liebt kein Mädchen nicht."

for the ministry in America. These candidates were Caspar Wack,²¹⁰ Daniel Wagner,²¹¹ John Wm. Weber,²¹² John Conrad Steiner,²¹³ and John W. G. Neveling.²¹⁴

Other ministers who were admitted by Coetus on its own responsibility were J. Christian Stahlschmidt (1740-1825), John William Runkel (1749-1832), John Herman Winkhaus (1758-1793), Anthony William Hautz (1758-1830), Ludovicus Chitara and Philip Reinhold Pauli (1742-1815). Stahlschmidt returned to Germany and is remembered as the author of a book, descriptive of his American experiences, entitled "Pilger Reise zu Wasser und zu Land." Runkel, though pastor of prominent churches, performed much missionary labor. Winkhaus had been for two years pastor of a church in Europe before he came to America. He was a man of extraordinary ability, who was called to Philadelphia in 1790, but died of yellow fever three years later. Chitara had been an Augustinian monk, but studied theology in America and served churches in New Jersey. Hautz studied under Dr. Hendel, and after serving several charges in Pennsylvania, removed to Seneca County, New York. Pauli was a grandson of Herman Reinhold Pauli, court-preacher in Halle,

²¹⁰ *Caspar Wack* (1752-1839), the earliest German Reformed Minister of American birth. He is said to have been the first member of Coetus to preach regularly in English, though others had preached occasionally in that language.

²¹¹ *Daniel Wagner* (1750-1810) was a very influential minister. Pastor at York, Tulpehocken and Frederick, Md.

²¹² *John William Weber* (1735-1816). He founded the church of Greensburg, and was the first minister of any denomination to preach in Pittsburg. He is regarded as the pioneer of the Reformed Church west of the Alleghenies.

²¹³ *John Conrad Steiner*, son of the early minister of the same name, was pastor in Berks County and afterwards in Northampton. He died in 1782.

²¹⁴ *John Wesley Gilbert Neveling* (1750-1844), a relative of Dr. Weyberg, was pastor at Amwell, N. J., and afterwards in Reading. In consequence of an accident he was paralyzed and remained an invalid for sixty years, dying at the age of ninety-four.

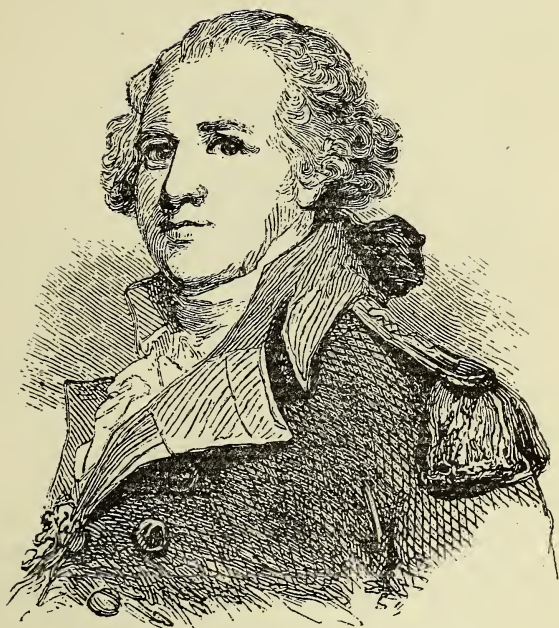
and was descended in the seventh generation from a celebrated professor in Heidelberg, Daniel Tossanus. After he came to America he was for some years teacher of Latin in the University of Pennsylvania, but is best known for his long pastorate in Reading. Two of his sons, William and Charles Augustus, became Reformed ministers. Perhaps we ought in this connection to mention Frederick William Vandersloot, who came to America in 1782, and served several congregations with the consent of Coetus, but was never admitted to membership.²¹⁵ John William Boos, who preached in Berks County, occupied a somewhat similar position. The Coetus desired to receive him, but the Holland deputies refused their consent, so he remained independent. Jonathan Rahauser (1764-1817) and John Philip Stock were ordained by Coetus in 1791. Rahauser, though a self-made man, was pastor at Hagerstown, Md., from 1792 to 1817 and exerted an extensive influence. Stock was a native of Hesse and had studied at Duisburg. He preached at York, Shippensburg and Chambersburg and prepared several young men for the ministry. He is said to have died at Wooster, Ohio, but the particulars of his later ministry are unknown. John Mann, who was in 1792 ordained as pastor at Lower Sancon and Springfield, was for several years prominent in the Church, but he finally retired from the ministry and became a farmer. Concerning his personal history hardly anything is known, but there is a tradition that during his pastorate there was a serious conflict in Lower Sancon. One Sunday he announced as his text, Micah 3, 8: "I am full of power * * * to declare unto Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin." His sermon became so personal that two prominent members, whose names were respectively Jacob and Israel,

²¹⁵ He must not be confounded with his son who bore the same name.

got up and walked out of church. The bolt had struck home.

We have not had room even to mention the names of all the men who labored in the German Reformed Church during the period of the Coetus; but enough has probably been said to give a correct idea of the constitution of this early ecclesiastical organization. It is evident that for some years the ties which connected it with Holland had gradually been growing weaker. The annual stipend was a source of dissension rather than of actual advantage. As early as 1774 the whole sum received from Holland, amounting to 250 florins, was devoted to the Widows' Fund. Again and again the members of the Coetus requested their patrons in Holland to apply their benefactions to the establishment of a school in America for the training of ministers; but on this "the fathers" were inflexible. They would neither aid in the establishment of an American institution of learning, nor grant to the American churches the privilege of conferring the rite of ordination.

In 1787 the Coetus determined to unite with the Lutheran Church in an effort to establish an institution for the training of ministers for the German churches in America. The time for such an enterprise appeared to be peculiarly auspicious. The country had in some degree recovered from the war of the Revolution, and was engaged in framing a Federal Constitution. Many ancient prejudices had passed away, and there was especially a kindly feeling towards the Germans for their patriotism during the war of independence. The two leading German denominations were on intimate terms, and there appeared to be no reason why they should not engage in a common enterprise for the intellectual advancement of their people. It is, therefore, not surprising that as soon as the establishment of a college



Thos. Mifflin

for their especial benefit was publicly announced promises of support were freely made by men of other churches ; but, unfortunately, many of these promises subsequently failed to be redeemed.

It is, perhaps, impossible to determine with certainty who was the first to propose the establishment of a German college, and the honor must be divided between the Rev. Drs. Helmuth and H. E. Mühlenberg, of the Lutheran Church, and Hendel and Weiberg, of the Reformed. In the opinion of the writer the chief credit belongs to the Rev. Dr. Helmuth, who had for some years conducted the German department of the University of Pennsylvania. This department had been founded—about 1779—by Dr. Kunze, and when the latter was called to New York, it was continued by Dr. Helmuth. It was not unsuccessful, but in connection with an extensive pastoral charge must have proved a heavy burden. Dr. Helmuth must also have seen that it would be difficult to maintain two departments in the University ; one must increase and the other decrease. What could be more natural than that he should conceive the idea that an institution for higher education among the Germans—such as the leaders of the churches had long desired—would be more likely to succeed if founded in a German county than if suffered to maintain a sickly existence as an annex to a large English institution.

In founding the German college it was deemed of the utmost importance to enlist the sympathy and coöperation of eminent men who, though themselves of English descent, were best qualified to appreciate the importance of such an institution. It was not a small matter that they were able to secure the enthusiastic approval of such men as Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush,

Thomas Mifflin, Thomas MacKean, and others, whose names adorn the earliest list of the board of trustees.

Benjamin Franklin was in 1787, the President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. He had been prominent in many philanthropic enterprises, and though he was now too old to take an active part in the



Benj. Franklin

new enterprise it was hoped that it might in some degree become a partaker of his brilliant reputation. That he was deeply interested in the proposed institution is not to be doubted. He had been for many years intimately associated with the Germans, publishing many of their books

and claiming to be in a special sense their patron and defender. He headed the subscription for the endowment of the new college with a contribution of £200, and was generally regarded as its founder.

The charter of Franklin College was granted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania on the 10th day of March, 1787. It prescribed that the Board of Trustees should consist of fifteen Lutherans, fifteen Reformed, and the remaining fifteen "to be chosen from any other society of Christians." The Legislature granted to the new institution ten thousand acres of land, lying within the limits of the present counties of Lycoming, Bradford, Tioga and Venango, and subsequently the public store-house and two lots of ground in the borough of Lancaster were added to the donation. The land was, however, at that time almost valueless, and the store-house demanded extensive repairs before it could be used to advantage for educational purposes.

The formal opening of Franklin College on the sixth of June, 1787, was a brilliant occasion. According to the published program there was a grand procession in which the officers of the county and the pastors of all the churches participated. The Reformed Coetus had appointed its annual meeting at Lancaster at this time so as to be present in a body. Many eminent Philadelphians were present, and among them was Benjamin Franklin himself.²¹⁶ Addresses were delivered by Drs. H. E. Mühlenberg and Joseph Hutchins. These addresses were published and

²¹⁶ This fact is expressly stated by a French writer, Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, who says in his book of travels: "In the year 1787 I accompanied the venerable Franklin, at that time Governor of Pennsylvania, on a journey to Lancaster, where he had been invited to lay the corner stone of a college which he had founded there for the Germans." See Duyckinck's "Cyclopædia of American Literature." A private letter is still extant in which Franklin indicates his intention of being present.

are still extant.²¹⁷ The program, which was printed in German and English on the same sheet, contained original hymns in both languages.²¹⁸ In brief, the occasion seemed propitious and every one was hopeful.

O r d n u n g

welche in Absicht der

Proceßion und öffentlichen Gottesdienstes

bey der

E i n w e i h u n g

der

Franklinischen Deutschen Hohen Schule,

in der Stadt und Grafschaft

L a n c a s t e r,

zu beobachten.

Philadelphia:

Gedruckt bey Melchior Steiner, in der Nees-Strasse, zwischen der Zwerten-
und Dritten-Strasse. 1787.

There was, however, a little cloud that might have been held to betoken a coming storm. The Rev. Joseph Hutchins, pastor of the Episcopal church of Lancas-

²¹⁷ The writer has in his possession the original manuscript of the prayer offered by the Rev. John Herbst, pastor of the Moravian Church. It contains an earnest petition for "the noble protector of this college, His Excellency, President Benjamin Franklin." The manuscript covers nine 4to pages, and the prayer must have been nearly as long as an ordinary sermon.

²¹⁸ Two thousand copies were circulated, but only two or three specimens are now known to exist. Professor Hinke has kindly furnished the title of the German program for reproduction in this volume.

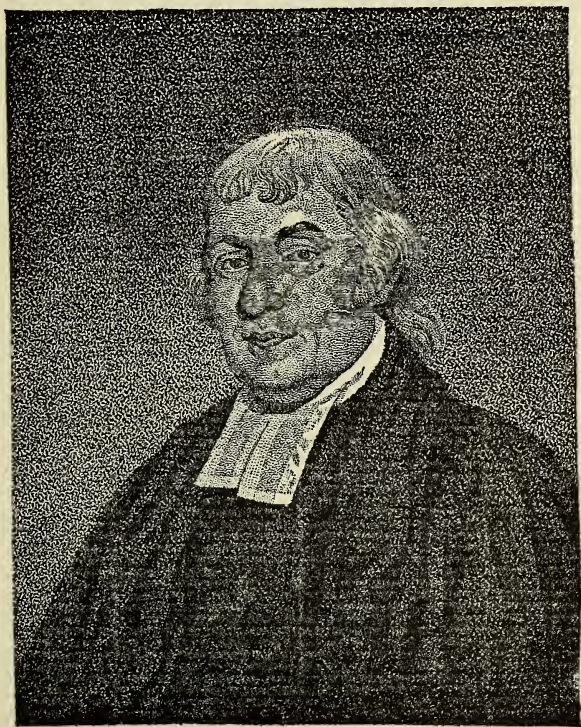
ter, was chosen professor of English, and had been invited to deliver an English address. No doubt he was a learned man, but he seems to have lacked a proper appreciation of the proprieties of the occasion. In his address he not only inveighed against "ignorant corruptions of primitive Christianity and traditional prejudices in favour of languages, forms and customs"; but actually expressed his disapproval of the purpose for which the new institution was founded. He said: "As the limited capacity of man can very seldom attain excellence in more than one language the study of English will consequently demand the principal attention of your children." Such words may now seem to have been very innocent, but when we remember that they were addressed to men who were chiefly interested in the preservation of their native language, it is not difficult to see that the effect of the address must have been profoundly depressing. It is remarkable that Dr. Hutchins seems never to have appreciated the fact that he had made a mistake. Nineteen years afterwards, in 1806, he published the address in pamphlet form, with a dedication to the Germans of Lancaster—evidently for the purpose of showing that his address had not been objectionable.

On the 5th of June, 1787, the day before the formal opening, the Board of Trustees met in the Court House at Lancaster and elected the following Faculty for Franklin College:

Rev. G. H. E. Muhlenberg, D.D., President; Rev. Wm. Hendel, D.D., Vice-President; Rev. Frederick W. Melsheimer, Professor of Greek, Latin and German; William Reichenbach, Professor of Mathematics; Rev. Joseph Hutchins, Professor of the English Language and Belles Lettres.

Concerning these men Dr. B. Rush says, in an article

written in 1787: "A cluster of more learned or better qualified masters, I believe, have not met in any university." We need only remind the reader that Muhlenberg was a celebrated botanist; that Melsheimer has been called



F. Paill' pinc.

Gustman & Piggot.

REV. G. H. E. MUHLENBERG.

"the father of American entomology"; and that Reichenbach was a voluminous author.

With such a faculty, it may be supposed, the success of the college ought to have been immediate; and so, indeed, it was in so far as the number of students was concerned.

In 1788, according to Professor Melsheimer's report there were one hundred and twenty-five students of whom about twenty received instruction in the higher branches. The chief difficulty was evidently financial. The rates of tuition were very low, and the annual receipts were only £111, while the salaries of the professors amounted to £210, though Drs. Muhlenberg and Hendel labored without salary. As there was practically no endowment—the necessary repairs to the “old store-house” presented by the State having exhausted the available subscriptions—it did not not take long to get to the bottom of the purse.

Almost at the beginning it was found necessary to establish an English as well as a German department. In the college building the two departments occupied adjoining rooms separated by folding-doors, which could in case of necessity be opened but were too generally left closed. There came to be two high-schools instead of one college. A correspondent of the Lancaster *Unpartheyische Zeitung* of October 5, 1787, says: “The English and Germans can never work together. The one says Shibboleth, the other Sibboleth.”²¹⁹

The “Fathers” in Holland did not like the project of establishing a college, and addressed some rather sharp inquiries to the Coetus, suggesting that it possibly involved a declaration of independence. In its reply in 1790, the Coetus says: “The high-school in Lancaster has already failed (a year ago) because on account of the general hard times the professors failed to receive their salaries. It is not our purpose to separate from Holland. Our purpose in founding the school was principally to this end, that our

²¹⁹ For further information on this subject see “The Founding of Franklin College,” *Reformed Quarterly Review*, 1887, and “Old Franklin College,” a paper read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, February, 1898; both papers by the present author.

German youth might be instructed in the languages and sciences, so that they might be prepared to hold offices in the republic; and that possibly in later times, if the school should be firmly established, young men might be prepared for the ministry."

That the college had not fulfilled its original purpose was true, and from this point of view it might be said to have failed; but the school was not closed. Its patronage, it is true, was mainly local, and it became an academy rather than a regular college. The board of trustees maintained its organization and its minutes are reasonably complete. Professor Melsheimer labored until 1798, hoping against hope, but finally reëntered the active ministry. There was a long succession of eminent teachers, among whom were James Ross, author of a celebrated Latin grammar, Benedict Schippher, co-author with Dr. Muhlenberg of a large German and English dictionary, and Dr. W. C. Brownlee, afterwards an eminent minister in New York. At a much later period we might mention Professor Jacob Chapman, who is still living (1901) at the age of one hundred years, and the late Rev. Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg.

It might be interesting to trace the later history of Franklin College, but this lies beyond our present purpose. The Lutheran and Reformed Synods, it is true, occasionally made small appropriations to the support of the institution, but this seems to have been rather to preserve a traditional right than for any more serious purpose. It may, however, be added that the lands originally granted to the institution by the Legislature gradually increased in value, so that when they were finally sold it became possible to establish an institution of a higher grade. This was accomplished by the union with Marshall College which was approved by the Legislature in 1850, though

not actually consummated until 1853. At this time the Lutheran interest in Franklin College was purchased by the Reformed Church, and the institution has since been known as Franklin and Marshall College.

There can be no doubt that Franklin College was projected on too large a scale, and that the time had not come for the establishment of an important institution under German auspices. The founders had heard of flourishing colleges in other parts of the country, but they seem to have failed to remember that—unless largely aided by the government—they were the result of many years of toil, if not of suffering. Accordingly, when trouble came, they lost heart, and failed to manifest the continued self-sacrifice which is the best assurance of the highest success. Nevertheless, to use the words of Dr. F. A. Muhlenburg, one of the professors of Franklin College, “It is a high credit to Lancaster that ever since the adoption of our National Constitution, she has never been without a school in which her sons could receive the elements of a classical education.”

During all these years the connection with Holland had remained unbroken, but for many years it had ceased to be of real advantage to the Church. The strict rules of the Holland Church with respect to ordination had become especially oppressive; and it came to be felt that if the Reformed Church was to maintain its existence in America it must strike out for itself, and determine the policy of the Church according to its environment. At last at the Coetus held in Lancaster in 1791, it was resolved that thereafter it would simply send to Holland “a report of the proceedings, accompanied by a suitable explanation, as may be necessary.”

The following action was also taken :

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



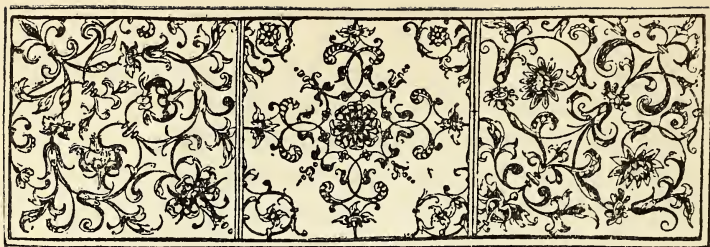
THEOLOGIANS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

WITSIUS.
VITRINGA.
ALSTED.

ARCTIUS.
HYPERIUS.
GOMARUS.

“*Resolved*, That the Coetus has a right at all times to examine and ordain those who offer themselves as candidates for the ministry, without asking or waiting for permission to do so from the fathers in Holland.” This was actually a declaration of independence, and it must have been so regarded in Holland, for to the letters of the Coetus no answer was returned. The decisive step had now been taken and it was not possible to turn back. In 1792 the Coetus directed Dominies Pomp and Hendel to prepare a Synodical constitution, and by its adoption at Lancaster in 1793 the separation was completed. The title adopted on this occasion was “*DER SYNOD DER REFORMIRTEN HOCH-DEUTSCHEN KIRCHE IN DEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON AMERIKA.*”

The Synod was not ungrateful, and on many occasions expressed its continued obligation to the fatherland. In its constitution it expressed its intention to welcome and receive ministers who might hereafter be sent from Holland. The Church had, however, been Americanized, and the pastors and people had little sympathy for European forms of government, whether in church or state. That the leaders in the Church had no liking for royalty appears in the following extract from a letter written by Dr. Hendel to John Henry Helffrich, dated August 21, 1793: “The condition of Europe is dreadful; whether the French will be able to maintain their republic cannot be foretold. I do not believe that the united powers of Europe will be able to conquer them, but I fear they will destroy themselves. If the war continues a while longer the Palatinate will suffer greatly. Have we not every reason to regard kings and princes as scourges of the human race, or at least of the Christian Church? Did not God give Israel a king in His wrath because they had rejected Him?”



CHAPTER XVII.

THE SYNOD.

Synodalordnung—Hymn-books and Liturgies—Church Services—Conflict of Languages—Union Movements—Synod of Ohio—New Measures.



THE meeting of the Synod of the German Reformed Church held at Lancaster on the 27th of April, 1793, may be held to mark the beginning of the third period of denominational history. The synod, as then constituted, was by no means large or imposing. Only thirteen ministers answered to their names, and nine were noted as absent, but the published list of absentees was cer-

tainly incomplete. It is estimated that the synod represented about one hundred and seventy-eight congregations and fifteen thousand communicants. Of the congregations fifty-five are known to have been vacant. The Rev. John Henry Winckhaus was elected President, and Caspar Wack was Secretary. William Hendel, D.D., was by common consent the leader of synod. His son, William

Hendel, Jr., was ordained in the same year. The latter was a graduate of Columbia College and of the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. He was for many years prominent in the Church; but though a man of high culture he was never able to exert an influence equal to that of his father. In the same year Dr. C. L. Becker arrived in America,²²¹ and in 1794 Philip Milledoler and John Henry Hoffmeier were ordained. Thomas Pomp was ordained in 1795 and Samuel Helffenstein in 1797. These men were for many years among the leaders of the Reformed Church.

At the earliest meeting of the synod, after the adoption of the *Synodalordnung*, the most important question was connected with cultus. The churches had hitherto generally used the Marburg Hymn-book, either in European editions or in Saur's reprint. This book had now become rare, and the preparation of a new hymn-book had become an urgent necessity. This was no small matter, both as regards expense and the labor of selection. The committee appointed to attend to this matter consisted of Hendel, Helffrich, Blumer, Wagner, Pauli and Mann. It was a good committee but the chief labor devolved on the chairman, and the result was popularly known as Hendel's Hymn-book. Considering the difficulty of obtaining access to hymnologic sources, it was really an excellent performance. It was published in many editions, each with a frontispiece representing David playing on the harp.

At the same meeting Winckhaus "promised to do some-

²²¹ Dr. Christian Ludwig Becker was one of the most eminent preachers of his day. He was born in Anhalt Cöthen, Germany, Nov. 17, 1756, and died at Baltimore, Md., July 12, 1818. In Germany, while still a candidatus, he published "*Sammlung Heiliger Reden*," Leipzig, 1790, and several minor works. Ordained by Synod in 1794, he successively served churches in Easton, Lancaster and Baltimore. Author of "*Sammlung Geistreicher Predigten*," Baltimore, 1810. He was the ancestor of a long line of ministers.

vices were more elaborate. Before their confirmation the catechumens formed a procession at the neighboring school-house—the boys dressed in new suits and the girls wearing linen caps—and were then led to the church by the minister, to be examined on the Catechism and admitted to full membership by the laying on of hands. In the administration of the Lord's Supper the Palatinate Liturgy was generally employed. In the church of which the writer was in his boyhood a member the communicants approached and withdrew from the altar with a profound bow or courtesy.

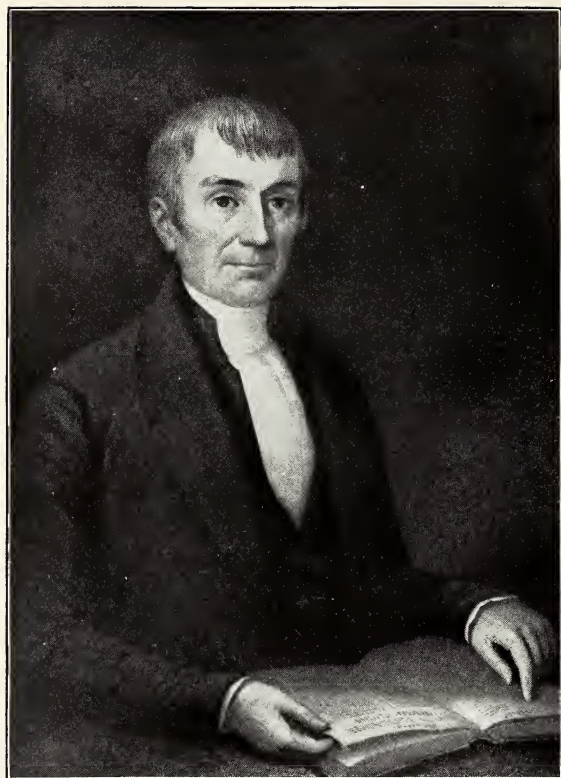
Early in the nineteenth century it appeared that great changes were imminent. In certain localities the Eng-

S. Helffenstein

lish language was rapidly making its way, and the ancient German customs which the fathers had loved were by the children regarded as antiquated and objectionable. The movement for the introduction of English services began in New Jersey, though it is believed that there had been occasional English preaching in the Reformed church of Germantown, Penna., at a somewhat earlier period.

It was in the Race Street church, Philadelphia, that the conflict concerning language first became intense. Rev. Samuel Helffenstein was, from 1799 to 1831, pastor of that church. He was a man of considerable ability and of great personal dignity, but was at times almost helpless in the midst of the storm. He could preach English well, but loved the German language best. The synod, to which the questions at issue were referred in 1804, adopted non-

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



REV. HENRY BIBIGHAUS.

committal resolutions which pleased neither party. At first Dr. Helffenstein supported the Germans and the strictly English party withdrew and founded the Reformed Dutch Church on Crown Street. Another English party was gradually formed, and in 1817 the conflict began anew. This English party finally secured the majority, and then the Germans withdrew and founded a church on St. John Street under the pastorate of Rev. F. W. Van der Sloom, Dr. Helffenstein preaching English in the old church.

H. Bibighaus

Of the German church Rev. Henry Bibighaus, D.D., was subsequently pastor for many years.²²³

This is but a specimen of conflicts which occurred all over the Church, especially in the cities and larger towns. In country churches the change in language was more gradual and naturally caused less excitement. It has been common to blame the fathers for their close attachment to their native language—and there can be no doubt that the Reformed Church in this struggle lost many thousands of members; but who can condemn a people for attachment to its native tongue? There can be no doubt that in many instances both parties were greatly to blame for violence and imprudence.

To the older pastors the change of language presented peculiar difficulties. They not only foresaw the time when they would be supplanted by ministers of different speech and manners, but the question naturally suggested itself, that it might not be worth while to maintain the German

²²³ Henry Bibighaus was born in Bucks County, Pa., Aug. 2, 1777, and died in Philadelphia, Aug. 20, 1851. He was at first organist of the Race Street church and was prepared for the ministry by Dr. Helffenstein.

Reformed Church as a separate body when its distinguishing speech and customs were so rapidly passing away. The "denominational consciousness" had not yet been developed, and it was, indeed, a serious question whether the circumstances warranted a separate organization.

For some years the advisability of union with some other denomination was extensively debated. Historically it might have seemed most natural to unite with the Dutch Church, but here the difference of language proved a serious obstacle. There had for many years been an intermittent correspondence between the two churches, and their relations had always been most cordial; but the "Low Dutch," as they were generally called, had already become prevailingly English, and the German pastors naturally feared that organic union would but hasten the change of language which some of them so greatly dreaded.

Union with the Lutheran Church appeared to be in some respects far more desirable. The two churches had for many years labored side by side, and their relations had always been cordial. The old doctrinal distinctions had in great measure passed into the background, and in extensive regions so-called Union churches brought pastors and people into the most intimate personal relations. The two denominations generally used the same language, and were confronted by the same practical questions. When, in 1817, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches were in Prussia united by the establishment of the Evangelical Church-Union, it was but natural that renewed attention should be called to the possibility of forming a similar union in America, and for some years there were frequent deliberations on this general subject. In 1817 the Lutheran Ministerium invited the Reformed Synod to unite in the common celebration of the festival of the Reformation,

and in the following year proposed a plan for a joint theological seminary in connection with Franklin College. The Reformed Synod, on the other hand, recommended Dr. Helmuth's *Evangelisches Magazin*, and in various other ways manifested its unionistic tendency. A union hymn-book—entitled “*Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch*”—was prepared by irresponsible parties, and extensively circulated in both churches. After many consultations this particular union movement failed in 1824, on the ground that it was not probable that all the churches of both denominations would enter into the proposed union, and that the result might be to introduce a new denomination without decreasing the number already in existence. Personally, the writer has always believed that the Union churches, which had become so numerous, rather hindered than promoted organic union. In many places, where two ministers occupied the same field and preached in the same churches, the removal of ancient denominational distinctions might have rendered one of the pastors superfluous; or it would, at any rate, have so disturbed existing conditions in such a way as to lead to many local difficulties. Many pastors, therefore, preferred to suffer things to remain as they were.

In the meantime the condition of the Reformed Church was far from encouraging. Unable to secure pastors of their own denomination who could preach acceptably in English, prominent city congregations invited ministers of other denominations to supply their pulpits, and through their influence the people became estranged from their proper standards. Candidates for the ministry were few in number, and the instruction which they received from older ministers was lamentably insufficient. Many congregations were vacant and naturally became the prey of

the sects which were then coming into existence. How the leaders of the Church were able to maintain faith and hope under such depressing conditions is almost inconceivable.

Here and there might, however, be discovered indications of a new life. As early as 1806 a Sunday-school was established in the Reformed church of Philadelphia, and a few years later similar schools had been founded in many towns and villages. Many people were prejudiced against these organizations on account of their supposed antagonism to the catechetical system; but they made their way and accomplished much good.

Notwithstanding these depressing conditions the Reformed Church was gradually extending its limits. The work which was begun by the Rev. J. W. Weber became the nucleus of the Church beyond the Alleghenies. Rev. Nicholas P. Hacke, D.D. (1800-1878), became pastor of the Greensburg charge in 1819 and served it faithfully for 59 years. In later years he held a sort of patriarchal relation to the Reformed churches of all that region. Jost Henry Fries (1777-1839) labored in an extensive region near the geographical center of Pennsylvania. He was a worthy man but very eccentric, and even in the pulpit his humor occasionally could not be restrained.²²⁴ In Ohio the Rev. Jacob Christman began to preach in Warren County in 1803, and in 1804 the Rev. John Jacob Larose began his extensive missionary journeys. In 1816 the Rev.

²²⁴ The writer has a copy of a published sermon preached by Fries in the Elias church at Youngmanstown on the 10th of September, 1812. The first part of the discourse is very learned and dignified, as was no doubt supposed to befit the occasion; but in the conclusion the preacher breaks forth in extravagant praise of Governor Simon Snyder, at the same time expressing his disapproval of certain people who had greeted his nomination with the derisive shout: "Ho! Ho! A Governor from 'Shimoky.'"

John William Dechant was sent to Ohio by Synod, and did excellent work.

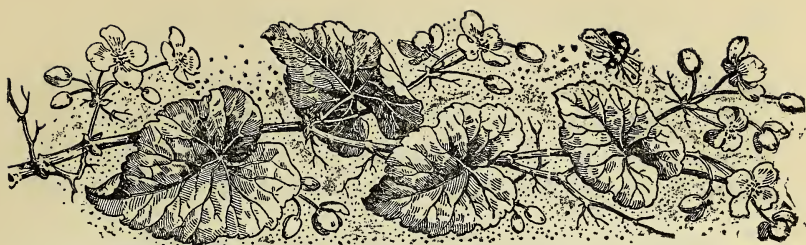
To relate the history of the Reformed Church in the Western States does not come within our present purpose. It may, however, be proper to state that this history in many respects presents a curious analogy to that of the Church in Pennsylvania. The growth of the Church was not rapid, but in 1819, when the Synod was divided into classes, it became possible to organize a Classis of Ohio, consisting of five ministers and about fifty congregations. In 1823 the Synod of the United States refused to grant to classes the privilege of ordaining ministers, and against this action the Classis of Ohio protested on the ground that they could not afford to send their candidates "across the mountains." Accordingly, at its meeting in New Philadelphia, O., June 14, 1824, the Classis of Ohio resolved itself into a Synod, and for nearly forty years remained independent of the parent body. The two Synods exchanged delegates, and worked together with a considerable degree of harmony, but there was no organic union. The Synod of Ohio, however, in due time, became the mother of several other western synods.

About 1820 a wave of religious excitement swept over the land. Its effects were not limited to a single denomination, and there was hardly a town or village that was not shaken, as if by a great convulsion. The methods employed to promote a general awakening of the religious consciousness were known as "new measures," and many pastors suffered themselves to be led into undeniable extravagances, so that for a time it seemed as if the ancient landmarks would be entirely swept away. There can be no doubt that much good was accomplished, though in many instances in an irregular and spasmodic way. It

was, we think, a natural reaction 'from the coldness and formality into which the churches had fallen; and in its best aspects it led to the establishment of theological and literary institutions, and of societies for the promotion of missions, and of other enterprises of Christian benevolence. It is not surprising, however, that the instinct of conservatism induced many people to regard the whole movement with suspicion, and to confound genuine progress with unreasoning fanaticism.

For the Reformed Church, this was a period of undeniable danger. The older pastors were passing away, and those who remained found it difficult to accommodate themselves to new conditions. Fortunately there was a little company of ministers and laymen who believed that the Reformed Church had a special testimony to offer—a peculiar mission to fulfill—and to these faithful men the honor of inaugurating a brighter era is mainly due.





CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FOUNDING OF INSTITUTIONS.

The Theological Seminary—Dr. Milledoler—The Free Synod—At Carlisle—Dr. Lewis Mayer—Mr. Reily in Europe—The Seminary in York.

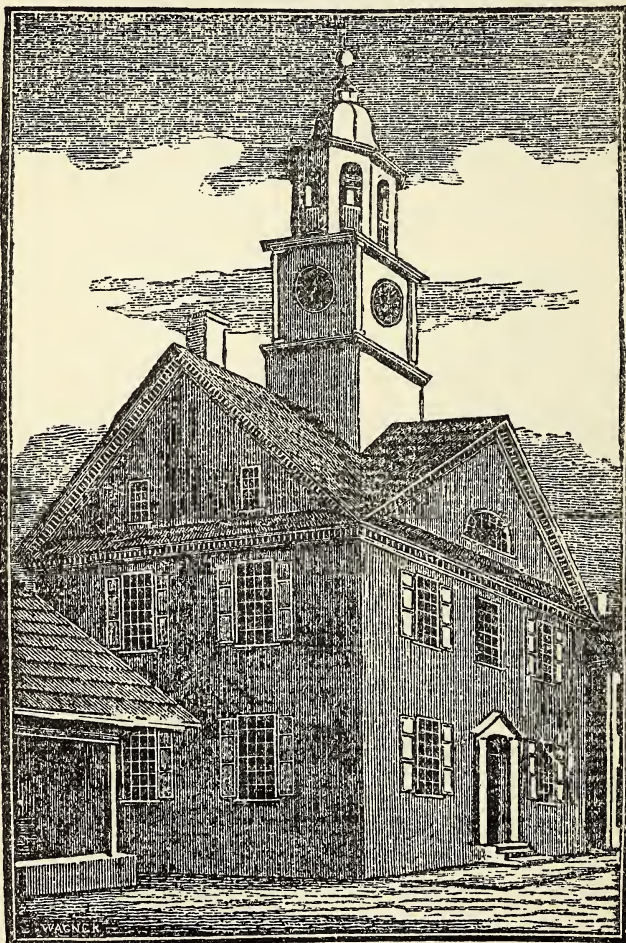


AT the meeting of Synod convened in Hagerstown, Md., in September, 1820, it was resolved to establish a theological seminary. This action was the result of long deliberation, and was taken only when it became evident that no other course was possible if the separate organization of the Reformed Church was to be maintained. When the plan for the

new institution had once been adopted the members of the Synod were full of rejoicing. Indeed, they seem to have anticipated no possible difficulties, and at once took additional action which seemed to indicate that they regarded the whole matter as settled and complete. The following resolution must be regarded as at least premature :

“*Resolved:* That no minister shall hereafter have the privilege of receiving a young man in order to instruct him in theology, but may only direct him in his preliminary studies.” The wisdom of this action might at any time have been

questioned, but under the circumstances it could not fail to excite antagonism, especially on the part of ministers who were engaged in instructing candidates for the ministry. A Board of Superintendents was chosen, consisting of Caspar



OLD COURT HOUSE AT YORK, PA.

Wack, William Hendel, Jr., Lebrecht L. Hinsch, Samuel Helffenstein, Thomas Pomp, Jonathan Helffenstein, Frederick Rahauser, J. Christian Becker, Lewis Mayer, James R. Reily, Albert Helffenstein, and John S. Ebaugh. These men may be regarded as the founders of the theological seminary, though they were afterward effectively aided by men who were not included in this preliminary list.

Immediately after the constitution of this Board the Synod proceeded to elect a professor of theology, and Rev. Philip Milledoler, D.D.,²²⁵ of New York, was unanimously chosen. At the same time his salary was fixed at two thousand dollars per annum, which was regarded as a very liberal compensation. It was, however, believed on sufficient grounds that if Dr. Milledoler accepted the call his professorship would be fully endowed through the liberality of his friends in New York.

The appointment of Dr. Milledoler was greeted with enthusiasm, especially in Maryland and southern Pennsylvania. In 1821 Dr. Mayer reported that a capital of about \$30,000 was "in sight," and even ventured to anticipate that the income of the Seminary endowment would soon afford a surplus that could be applied to missions. A number of ministers pledged themselves to collect or contribute considerable sums. Among others the Rev. John Weinbrenner—who subsequently left the Church and became the founder of the "Church of God"—pledged himself to contribute \$200 annually for ten years.

Unfortunately most of these subscriptions were made on

²²⁵ Philip Milledoler, born at Rhinebeck, N. Y., September 22, 1775; died, Staten Island, N. Y., September 23, 1852. Graduated in Columbia College, 1793. Pastor German Reformed Church, New York, 1794-1800; Pine Street (Presbyterian) Church, Philadelphia, 1800-1805; Rutgers Street (Presbyterian) Church, New York, 1805-1813. Moderator of General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, 1808; Collegiate Reformed (Dutch) Church, 1813-1825. Professor of Theology at New Brunswick and President of Rutgers College, 1825-1840.

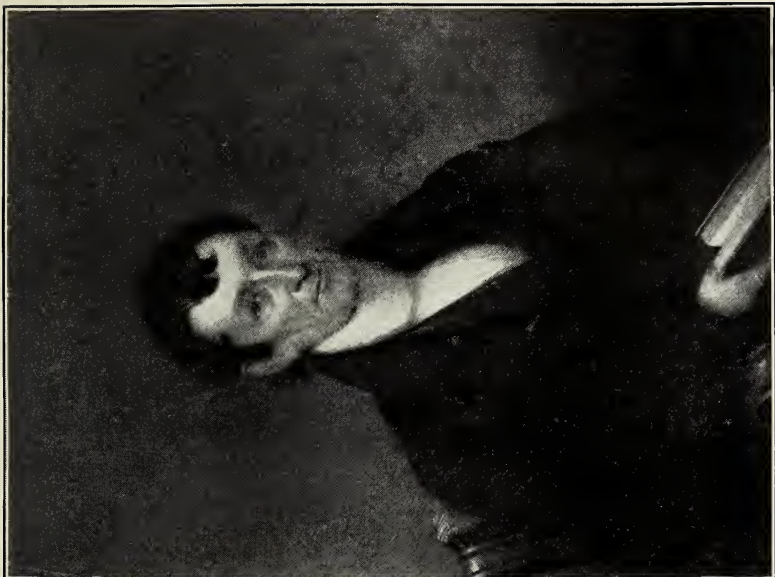
the condition that Dr. Milledoler should become the first professor; for it was freely said that "wherever Dr. Milledoler went the New York endowment would certainly follow." He was a man of great ability and influence, and if he had accepted the position all might have been well, but he found it difficult to reach a final conclusion. At first he accepted the call, but soon afterward withdrew his acceptance for further consideration. For two years he left the German Synod under the impression that he would accept their call, but at last he declined it and became professor of theology at New Brunswick. No doubt his final decision was greatly influenced by disagreements which had now become apparent in the German Church; but his dilatory course cannot be approved. The enthusiasm of the Church had somewhat declined and her great enemy had done much evil work before Dr. Milledoler finally declined the call. Of course, when this occurred all the conditional subscriptions became valueless and the fact was recognized that the first effort to establish a theological seminary had proved a failure.

Though the synod was greatly discouraged, there was no disposition to retire from the work which it had undertaken. It had at first been resolved to establish the seminary at Frederick, Md., but the fact was now recognized that this place was too far distant from the center of the Church. In 1822 the synod met in Harrisburg, Penna., and here it occurred to some one that the capital of the State would be an ideal place for the theological seminary. The Rev. John Weinbrenner was pastor of the Reformed Church of Harrisburg and of several other churches in its vicinity. He was a man of considerable talent, possessing unusual oratorical ability. He had, however, recently become an enthusiastic advocate of "New Measures," and

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REV. LEWIS MAYER.



REV. S. HELFENSTEIN.

some of his members had become dissatisfied. The synod, it seems, was of the opinion that it would be better for Mr. Weinbrenner to seek another field of labor; and the consistory of the church was evidently of the same opinion, for they expressed their willingness to accept as their pastor the professor of theology who might be elected by synod, at the same time pledging themselves to contribute \$500 annually to his support. This seemed a beautiful plan; but it was objectionable on the ground that it interfered with existing pastoral relations. Mr. Weinbrenner asked time for consideration and no final action was taken. In the following year he vacated the pulpit, but it may be taken for granted that he was displeased. His position towards synod gradually became antagonistic. He became the founder of a new denomination, holding certain doctrines which were not in harmony with those of the Reformed Church, and in 1828 his name was erased from the list of members of synod.

At the meeting of synod held in Baltimore, in 1823, the resolution to establish a theological seminary in Harrisburg was renewed, and an election for the professorate was immediately held. At the first ballot the votes were equally divided between three candidates: Drs. Samuel Helffenstein,²²⁶ J. C. Becker²²⁷ and Lewis Mayer.²²⁸ Dr. Mayer then withdrew his name and Dr. Helffenstein was chosen.

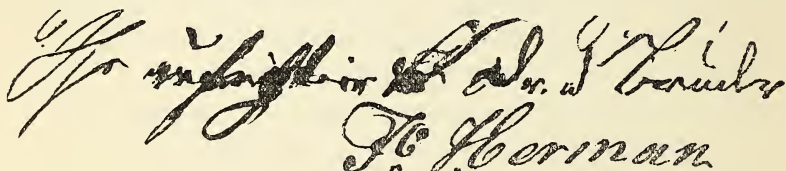
²²⁶ Samuel Helffenstein, eldest son of J. C. Albertus, born at Germantown, Pa., May 17, 1775; died, North Wales, Pa., October 17, 1866. Pastor in Philadelphia, 1799-1831. Author of "Didactic Theology," and a volume of poems.

²²⁷ Jacob Christian Becker, son of Dr. Christian Ludwig, born at Bremen, Germany, January 14, 1790; died, Bethlehem, Pa., August 18, 1858. A very influential pastor in Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

²²⁸ Lewis Mayer was born at Lancaster, Pa., March 26, 1783; died at York Pa., August 25, 1849. Studied in the college at Frederick, Md., and was privately instructed in theology by the Rev. Daniel Wagner. Licensed in 1807 and ordained in 1808. Pastor, Shepherdstown, Va., 1808-21; York, Pa., 1821-25. Professor in theological seminary, 1825-37. Author of "Sin Against the Holy Ghost," "Lectures on Scriptural Subjects," "History of German Reformed Church," Vol. I., and many pamphlets. See Biography by Dr. E. Heiner prefixed to "History." Also Harbaugh's "Lives," Vol. III.

The church in Harrisburg was now in a ferment in consequence of the withdrawal of Mr. Weinbrenner, and the plan for the establishment of a seminary at that place fell to the ground. Dr. Helffenstein declined the call and the second effort proved a failure.

In the meantime there was great trouble in the eastern part of the Church. It was partly derived from misunderstandings of the purpose of the seminary movement, but also involved personal elements which were by no means creditable to the Church. Dr. F. L. Herman—one of the


 A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "F. L. Herman". The signature is written in a cursive style, with the first name "F." and last name "Herman" clearly legible.

last of the missionaries sent to America by the Church of Holland—had for many years instructed candidates for the ministry. He was a man of considerable learning and ability, and was careful and conscientious in the instruction of students. As he lived at Falkner Swamp the school which he conducted was popularly known as “The Swamp College.” He instructed his six sons—of whom five became ministers—and among his students were such men as B. S. Schneck, T. H. Leinbach, J. S. Dubbs, Richard and Peter S. Fisher, and others. Unfortunately Dr. Herman’s son, Frederick, became dissipated and was in 1821 suspended by synod. There was no question as to the justice of the sentence, but it was communicated to the afflicted father in terms which proved harsh and offensive. When the latter inquired as to the significance of suspension, President Hinsch replied: “In this case it means exclusion forever”—“*In diesem Falle*

heisst das auf immer und ewig ausgeschlossen." After this utterance Dr. Herman withdrew from the meeting, accompanied by his students, his son-in-law, Rev. J. C. Guldin and the Rev. Henry Diffenbach, for which act they were severely censured by resolution. These men founded in 1822 the "Synod of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States," which was generally known as the "Free Synod."

The new organization did not declare itself opposed to theological seminaries, as has been generally supposed, and, indeed, at one time it proposed to establish an institution of its own. Dr. Herman personally based his opposition to the seminary of the old synod on its proposed location at Frederick, Md., but his son, Frederick, Jr., embraced the opportunity to play the part of a demagogue, and the result was a popular convulsion that for a time threatened the very existence of the Church. Conventions were held in various places at which fiery resolutions were adopted, declaring unalterable opposition to all forms of "priestcraft." The old spirit of independence was revived and congregations pledged themselves not to "employ" a minister who stood in connection with a synod. Carl Gock, a German schoolmaster in Albany Township, Berks County, published two books²²⁹ against synods, and in fact against ministers generally. Though these books manifested no literary ability, their tone was exceedingly bitter, and they were well qualified to excite ignorant people. A reply was published by J. C. Gossler,²³⁰ but it was a weak performance.²³¹ After a few years the popular excitement subsided,

²²⁹ "Die Vertheidigung der Freyen Kirche," Reading, 1822; "Fortsetzung der Vertheidigung," no place, 1830.

²³⁰ "Carl Gock's Verläumdungen, oder die Rechtfertigung der hoch-deutschen Lutherischen und Reformirten Synoden," Reading, 1823.

²³¹ Carl Gock was a local politician and for twenty years a regular delegate to the county convention. As long as the nominees were chosen by secret ballot Gock conducted a prosperous business by secretly selling his vote to all

but it can hardly be doubted that its effect was permanently injurious to many of the churches of eastern Pennsylvania.

In the midst of the prevailing excitement the Free Synod was placed in a peculiarly unfortunate position. The elder members did not approve of the prevailing radicalism, and the younger ones—who had no personal grievances—soon felt that their synod had no apparent mission. Externally the schism appeared to prosper, for it included more than a hundred congregations, among which were churches in New York, Philadelphia, Allentown, Carlisle, and other important places. It was, however, a wise action when the Free Synod at its meeting in Philadelphia, in 1836, resolved to take measures looking towards reunion with the old synod. The latter body was no less wise when, at Baltimore in the same year, it resolved to admit the seceders without conditions, at the same time adopting a minute expressive of “sincere joy at the prospect of a union so essential to the best interests of the Church.” The Free Synod held one more meeting, at Pottstown, in 1837, where the proposed plan was ratified, and thus a threatening schism was finally healed.²³² The leading members of the

the candidates and then voting as he pleased. At last it was resolved to vote *viva voce*, and as Gock had already given his promise to three candidates and received pay “for value received,” he found himself “unable to deliver the goods.” Of course he lost the confidence of his constituents, and was never afterwards chosen a delegate from Albany Township. His last years were spent in the Berks County almshouse, where he was visited in 1863 by Dr. Harbaugh. Even then he rejoiced that he had written his books, and believed that he had prevented the clergy from becoming “the masters of the land.” For an interesting account of Dr. Harbaugh’s interview with Gock see *The Guardian*, for August, 1863, p. 256.

²³² An organization composed in part of former members of the Free Synod maintained a weak existence for some years in central Pennsylvania. It was called the Independent Synod, but was more generally known as the “Stiely Synod,” from the prominence of the brothers Isaac and Philip Stiely in its organization. Among its members, it is said, there were “independents” of several denominations. Of course, this synod exerted little influence, and naturally soon went to pieces.

schismatic body became in later years enthusiastic supporters of the institutions of the Church.

THE SEMINARY AT CARLISLE.—After two failures to establish a theological seminary the Church was naturally discouraged. A proposition was, however, laid before the Synod convened at Bedford, in 1824, which seemed to afford a prospect of better things. Dickinson College—founded in 1783, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church—had for several years declined in numbers and influence, chiefly in consequence of the establishment of other Presbyterian institutions, and it now occurred to the President, Dr. Cathcart, that the college might be strengthened by an alliance with the proposed theological seminary of the Reformed Church. An invitation was accordingly extended to the Reformed Synod to establish its seminary in Carlisle, the professor of theology assuming the position of professor of history and German in Dickinson College. The college, on its part, pledged itself, in consideration of such service, to provide a recitation room for theological teaching, and in due time to transfer to the Reformed Synod a part of the college campus for the erection of a seminary building. Seminary students were to enjoy the advantages of instruction in the college, and the use of the libraries, free of charge. The plan looked well, and we are not surprised that it was approved by the Reformed Synod, though Hinsch—the leading representative of the uncompromising Germans—placed on record a report which made it appear that the main purpose of the theological seminary was to be the preservation of German life and literature. It was resolved by the Synod that the call to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Helffenstein should be renewed, and that in case of his declination it should be placed in the hands of Lewis Mayer, then pastor of the Reformed

Church in York. Once more Dr. Helffenstein declined, and Dr. Mayer accepted the call. The theological seminary was opened in Carlisle with a class of five students, March 11, 1825. In a letter in the possession of the author, written many years afterwards, Dr. Mayer says: "When I accepted that call the prospect of establishing a seminary was so dark and discouraging that no brother

Lewis Mayer

whose situation at the time was pleasant could have been induced to accept the professorship. I gave up a certainty for an uncertainty, relinquished a better living and subjected myself to a series of untried labors, resolved, at the hazard of all that I held dear, if it were the will of God, to make the effort to lay the foundation of an institution which I hoped would be a blessing to the Church for ages to come."

Dr. Mayer was in many respects a remarkable man. Though of a prominent family, his early educational advantages had been limited, and his subsequent attainments are, therefore, a source of constant surprise. There can be no doubt that he possessed mental powers of a high order, conjoined with unremitting and life-long industry. Dr. Schaff calls him "a man of reverent and devout character, clear and temperate judgment and profound learning."²³³ The same writer, however, deems it necessary to add that Dr. Mayer seems to have derived from De Wette and other contemporary German theologians certain views which were regarded as deviating from the strict orthodoxy of the times. We now appreciate the fact that these

²³³ "Kirchenfreund," October, 1849.

were minor matters which did not affect the thinking of his students to any appreciable extent, but in his later life they were made the ground of violent personal opposition.

The extent of Dr. Mayer's attainments is plainly indicated by his manuscripts. With the German and English languages he had become accurately familiar at an early age, and his knowledge of Greek and Latin was, for the time, remarkable. He had mastered the Dutch language and had some acquaintance with French. The natural sciences he studied with energy and enthusiasm. At a time when few appreciated the value of such things he laboriously gathered and transcribed ancient documents, and planned on a large scale a "History of the Reformed Church" of which but a single volume has appeared. It must, perhaps, be confessed that in his historical writings he lacked a certain sense of proportion which might have enabled him to accomplish his work without the unnecessary accumulation of details.

The arrangement with Dickinson College did not prove satisfactory. The financial difficulties of the institution increased, and the students manifested no desire to study the German language. For some time Dr. Mayer lectured to his students in the old Reformed church of Carlisle, but here even greater difficulties presented themselves.

The Rev. John S. Ebaugh²³⁴ was the pastor of that church—a man of some ability, but eccentric and full of strange expedients. He conceived the idea that the Seminary ought to purchase the Reformed church and parsonage in Carlisle. The amount of the purchase money—\$4,000—he proposed to collect in Cumberland County, os-

²³⁴ John S. Ebaugh, born, York Co., Pa., April 19, 1795; died, New York city, Nov. 2, 1874. Published "Heavenly Incense," an English version of Zollikofer's Prayer-book. General agent of American Bible Society. Pastor of Forsyth Street church, New York, 1844-51.

tensibly for the Theological Seminary but actually to pay for this property and thus to enable his congregation to erect a new church at a more favorable location. Mr. Ebaugh secured a *quasi*-endorsement of this scheme from the Board of Trustees of the Seminary, but as this action was taken without the presence of a quorum it was declared invalid. Dr. Mayer opposed Mr. Ebaugh's plan, and the result was an intense conflict. Mr. Ebaugh finally joined the Free Synod, and of course failed to make the collections which he had proposed.²³⁵

The financial condition of the Seminary was at this time very discouraging. There was no endowment, and the small salary promised to the professor by the synod was very irregularly paid. It was in this dark hour that one of the pastors started upon an enterprise that seemed romantic, if not absurd, but which not only brought immediate relief but accomplished great results in rousing the American Church to a sense of its duty.

James Ross Reily (1788-1844) was born in Myerstown, Lebanon County, and was of mixed Irish and German descent. He was in many respects a remarkable man. Though not highly educated he was a fine preacher, and was withal more energetic than most of his contemporaries. For his literary training he was no doubt chiefly indebted to his uncle, Dr. William Hendel, Jr.; and in theology he was instructed by Dr. C. L. Becker, of Baltimore. Soon after his ordination, in 1818, he undertook an extensive journey through the southern states, saving many churches that were ready to die.

It was while he was pastor at Hagerstown that Mr.

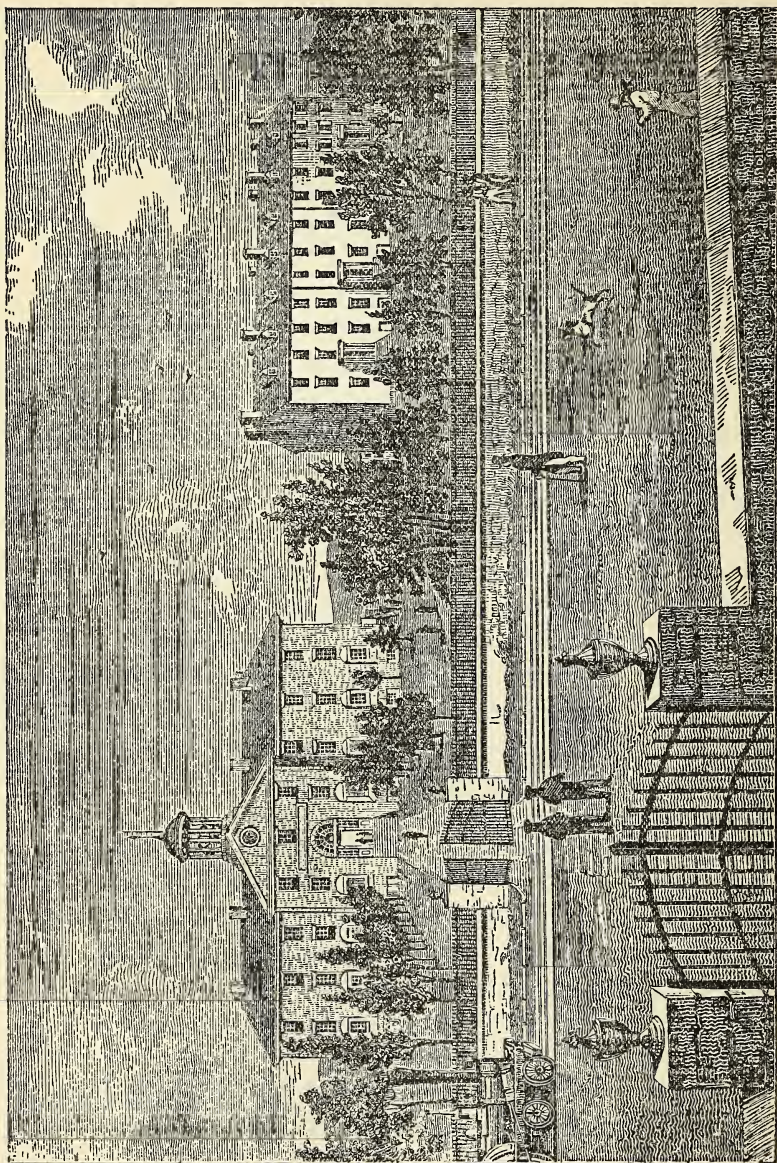
²³⁵ "Geschichte des Theologischen Seminars der Deutschen Reformirten Kirche," Hanover, Pa., Daniel Philip Lange, 1831. This book is anonymous, but is carefully written and presents the facts in their proper order.

Reily conceived the idea of aiding the seminary by making a personal appeal to the Church in Europe. In promptness of action he was not unlike Schlatter on his first voyage to America, for in a few weeks he had not only resigned his congregation but had secured the approval of synod for his undertaking. He sailed from Philadelphia in May, 1825, and returned to America in October of the following year. A full report of the incidents of his journey is contained in the minutes of synod for 1828.

In Europe Mr. Reily was received with great kindness, not to say enthusiasm. He attended the meeting of the synod of Holland and there received a gift of \$400, besides many contributions from individuals. Afterwards he journeyed through Germany to Switzerland, and was everywhere most cordially received. The King of Prussia, after a pleasant interview, gave him 200 Reichsthaler and granted him the privilege of taking up collections in his kingdom. He also gave him a number of books for the library, some of them stamped with the arms of Hohenzollern. In Bremen, Mr. Reily enjoyed the pleasure of meeting his old friend, Dr. B. Kurtz, who had just arrived in Germany to engage in similar work in behalf of the Lutheran Church in America.

From German papers of that date we learn that Mr. Reily's sermons attracted large audiences, and awakened great enthusiasm. This fact we conceive to have been mainly due to his evident sincerity, as well as to his plain and unassuming style. All classes vied in presenting contributions to his cause, and not the least touching were gifts of jewelry and fine embroidery which were afterwards sold for the benefit of the institution.

Unfortunately Mr. Reily was in bad health, and was frequently entirely disabled. Under the circumstances, his



DICKINSON COLLEGE.

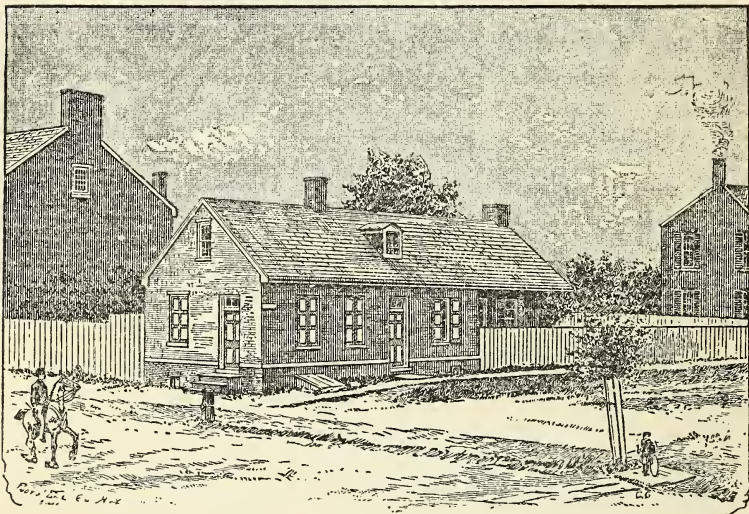
mission must, however, be regarded as entirely successful. The net results were \$6,695.55 in cash, and a library of several thousand volumes. The export duties on the library, amounting to about five hundred dollars, were generously remitted by the King of Holland.

The friends of the seminary were greatly encouraged by Mr. Reily's success, and about the same time contributions began to be received from other sources. The Rev. Jacob Beecher (written Buecher in the minutes) is said to have secured \$10,000. Mr. Bernard C. Wolff—afterwards an eminent minister—collected about \$1,200 in New York. The contributions were not large, but in the list we observe a subscription of \$200 from Col. Rutgers. John Jacob Astor gave \$50, which is the only contribution on record from that well-known millionaire.

Though financial conditions were becoming more encouraging the troubles of the seminary were by no means ended. The dissensions in the Board concerning the purchase of property still continued, and in 1829 Dr. Mayer, on his own responsibility, bought a property in York, Pa., and removed the seminary to that place. The synod approved of his action, though with the expressed proviso that the institution might hereafter be removed elsewhere, if such a course should be deemed advisable. It is possible that the removal from Carlisle was a mistake. In 1833 the Presbyterians transferred their interest in Dickinson College to the Methodist Church, under whose care it has grown to be an important and influential institution. Without entering into particulars it is easy to see that at that time the Reformed Church might have secured a good foundation for its institutions, and that in this way many subsequent troubles would have been avoided.

THE SEMINARY IN YORK.—At York the seminary was

reorganized on the 11th of November, 1829, and it remained there until the autumn of 1837. The number of students was generally from twelve to twenty-five. For several years Dr. Mayer was assisted by the Rev. Daniel Young, who was chosen assistant professor of theology.



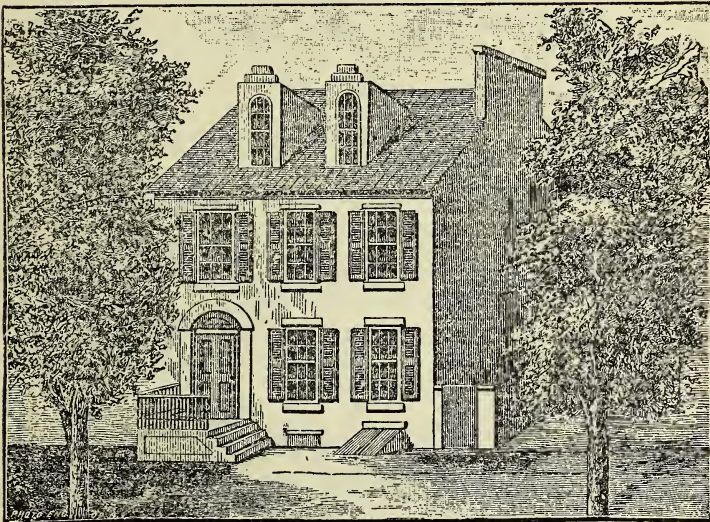
FIRST SEMINARY AT YORK, PA.

Mr. Young was a brilliant man—a graduate of Union College, New York, and of the theological seminary at Princeton. Though educated in the Presbyterian Church he was of Reformed descent and entered upon his work with great enthusiasm—but his health soon failed and, while seeking its restoration by a journey in the South, he died at Augusta, Georgia, March 6, 1831.

Dr. Mayer's chief trouble was derived from the fact that his students lacked preparatory training. In a report to synod he said that he was compelled to refuse applicants who could "barely read and write." In 1831 it was found

necessary to establish a classical department which was known as the High School of the Reformed Church. The school was, in 1832, put in charge of the Rev. Frederick A. Rauch, and it soon became very prosperous, so that there was a general desire that it should be raised to the rank of a college. Of course, under the direction of such a man as Dr. Rauch any school might be expected to advance to such a position.

It was now proposed that the institutions of the Church

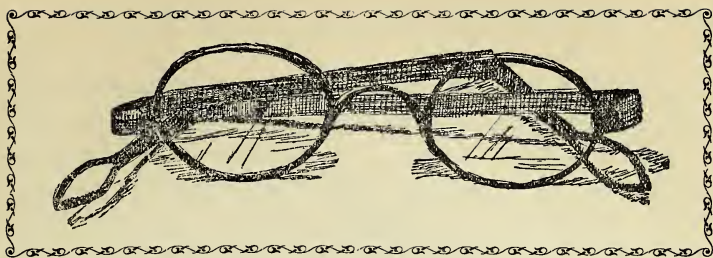


HIGH SCHOOL, OF REFORMED CHURCH AT YORK, PA.

should be located at the place from which the most advantageous proposals were received, and the first place to present such proposals was Mercersburg, in Franklin County. The pastor of the church at that place was the Rev. Jacob Mayer (no relative of the professor), who fully appreciated the importance of securing the institutions for the town and left no stone unturned to accomplish his pur-

pose. He succeeded in interesting the whole community, and the subscriptions received were unexpectedly liberal. It is true that, from our present point of view, the amount offered was entirely insufficient for the establishment of a college; but the proposals sent from several other towns were on the whole less satisfactory, and it was in 1835 resolved to establish the institutions at Mercersburg and the High School was immediately removed to that place, but the seminary remained in York until 1836. The charter of Marshall College was granted by the legislature of Pennsylvania, March 31, 1836. The beginning was humble, but the results were of great importance in the history of the Church.





CHAPTER XIX.

MERCERSBURG.

Frederick Augustus Rauch—John Williamson Nevin—Philip Schaff—
the Mercersburg Controversies.



MERCERSBURG is a pleasant village among the mountains of Franklin county. In early catalogues of Marshall College it is thus described: "It is more than usually retired, though within a short distance of the great thoroughfares of travel on different sides. At the same time it has the advantage of a daily mail. Few places, it is believed, furnish less occasion in the case of students, for distraction or dissipation of mind. It would be hard to find a location more favorable altogether to health. As respects scenery, it may be described as more than beautiful; it is absolutely splendid. At the distance of from two to five miles, the mountains are thrown around it in a sort of half-circle, gracefully irregular and imposingly picturesque; forming a vast amphitheatre, from whose towering sides in every direction nature looks upon the beholder, through sunshine and storm, in her most

magnificent apparel. Strangers who are possessed of any taste are generally much taken with the situation, under the view now mentioned. It might well be selected for a summer retreat by such as wish to make their escape from the city during the hot months, without caring to follow the crowd to more fashionable but less graceful places of resort."

In this obscure place Dr. Rauch toiled until his early death. He met with difficulties of which we can hardly form a proper conception, but so far as we know he never complained. Not the least of his early difficulties was unfamiliarity with the English language, but he soon surmounted it with all the skill of an accomplished philologist. As he was the originator of what has been known as the Mercersburg movement in philosophy and theology, it may be interesting to present a brief sketch of his remarkable career.

Frederick Augustus Rauch was born July 27, 1806, at Kirchbracht, in Hesse Darmstadt, where his father was

R. A. Rauch.

pastor. Concerning his boyhood little is known, except that he was very precocious. He studied successively at the universities of Marburg, Giessen and Heidelberg, and after serving a short time as professor extraordinary at Giessen, was appointed to a full professorship at Heidelberg. As Rauch was at that time but twenty-four years old, his promotion naturally caused great surprise. Professor Schiedt says:²³⁶ "Such an appointment at so early an age has to my knowledge only once been repeated in

²³⁶ "On the Threshold of a New Century," Philadelphia, 1900, p. 27.

this century—viz., in the case of Friedrich Nietzsche, who is by many considered the profoundest philosophical thinker of modern Germany.”

That Dr. Rauch was a philosophical thinker of the highest order can hardly be doubted. He had been the favorite pupil of the great eclectic philosopher, Carl Daub, and though recognized as a Hegelian, many elements of his thinking were derived from Schelling and others of his great contemporaries. In theology he was orthodox and he was ordained to the ministry, though, as he himself acknowledged, it was not until affliction came that he fully appreciated the consoling power of the Christian faith.²³⁷

At the very moment when Dr. Rauch appeared to be entering upon a brilliant career at the University of Heidelberg, an event occurred which entirely changed the current of his life. This event has never been fully explained, but it is not difficult to comprehend its general character. The German governments, in pursuance of the policy inaugurated by Metternich after the fall of Napoleon, were seeking by every possible means to repress the spirit of freedom that flourished in the universities; and for a professor who was believed to entertain liberal

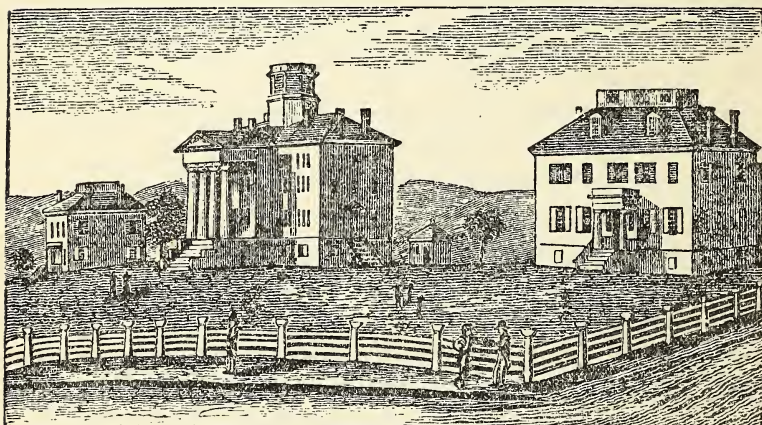
²³⁷ The general bent of Dr. Rauch's studies appears from the following list of his European publications :

1. "A Latin Treatise on the Electra of Sophocles."
2. "The Resurrection"—also in Latin.
3. "The Identity of the Hindoos, Persians, Germans and Slavs, as Indicated by their Language, Religion and Manners."
4. "A Critique of Goethe's Faust."
5. "A Treatise on Auricular Confession."
6. "Separation from the Church—a Treatise on Apostasy."
7. "The Will of God the Highest Principle of Morals—a Treatise on the Destiny of Man."
8. "A Book on the Literature of the Indians and Persians."
9. "Miscellaneous Articles and Sermons."

The above list appears in the *Minutes of Synod*, 1832.

sentiments there was no mercy. On some public occasion Dr. Rauch said something which was construed as treasonable, and the same day he was compelled to flee for his life. He had a parting interview with his father at midnight, and before daybreak had escaped beyond the border. At a later date he might easily have posed as a political refugee, but he always confessed that he had been imprudent; and could rarely be induced to discuss the subject.

Soon after his arrival in America, in 1831, Dr. Rauch found his way to Easton, Pennsylvania, where for some



MARSHALL COLLEGE, MERCERSBURG; ABOUT 1843.

time he supported himself by teaching music and by giving instruction in German in Lafayette College. Here he made the acquaintance of the Rev. Thomas Pomp and of other Reformed ministers, on whose recommendation he was made principal of the High School at York.

To some of his difficulties in his new situation we have already referred. When the college was founded at Mercersburg he was for some time assisted by a single professor, Samuel W. Budd. The community failed to ap-

preciate him, on account of his imperfect knowledge of the English language; but by his students he was sincerely admired. Having been appointed associate professor of theology he gave instruction to candidates for the ministry at the same time when Dr. Mayer was performing a similar service for other students in York. In 1838, after a brief season of retirement, Dr. Mayer was elected Professor of systematic theology at Mercersburg, and on his acceptance the synod acknowledged its high appreciation of his "magnanimous sacrifice." For one year he taught in Mercersburg, but it was a year of trouble. As might have been expected, the systems of theology taught by the two professors failed to harmonize and there was a sharp conflict. In 1839 Dr. Mayer finally resigned, and received the thanks of synod for his "faithful and valuable service." Rev. J. C. Becker, of Northampton County, was elected his successor, but he declined the appointment.

For nearly two years Dr. Rauch was the sole professor of theology, serving at the same time as president of Marshall College. During this period—besides writing a great deal for the church papers—he prepared for publication his "Psychology,"²³⁸ which may be said to have introduced this science to American students. This work was subsequently republished in many editions, and was long used as a text-book in leading American colleges. It was, however, according to Dr. Nevin, "only the beginning of what he wished and expected to accomplish as an author." Of much more account was to have been his "Moral Philosophy," a work on which his heart was greatly set, and which he hoped to publish in the ensuing summer. A treatise on æsthetics was intended to carry out and complete the scheme.²³⁹ There can be no doubt that constant

²³⁸ "Psychology or a View of the Human Soul," New York, 1841.

²³⁹ Preliminary notice to the second edition, IX.

and unremitting labor undermined his physical strength and thus became the chief cause of his early death.

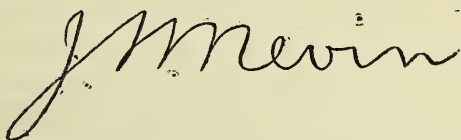
The special meeting of synod, convened at Chambersburg on the 29th of January, 1840, for the purpose of electing a professor of systematic theology, was one of the most important in the history of the Church. It was a small body—numbering not more than thirty delegates—and no one could possibly have anticipated its action. Several candidates were proposed, but at their own request their names were withdrawn. Then, as by a common inspiration, the synod unanimously elected the Rev. Dr. John Williamson Nevin, at that time professor in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pennsylvania.²⁴⁰

All the members of that synod have long since passed away, but in former years the present writer was well acquainted with many of them; and no one could furnish an adequate explanation of the reasons which influenced the mind of the synod in extending that remarkable call. That Dr. Nevin was not entirely unknown in Chambersburg may be taken for granted, as he had been born in Franklin County, and his "Biblical Antiquities" had been extensively circulated, though without attracting much personal attention to the author. The Rev. Samuel R. Fisher—then pastor at Emmitsburg, Maryland, was the only member of the synod who had heard him preach, and Dr. Benjamin S. Schneck, editor of the *Weekly Messenger*, had followed his course in the Presbyterian Church with

²⁴⁰ John Williamson Nevin, D.D., LL.D., was born in Franklin County, Pa., Feb. 20, 1803. Graduated at Union College, 1821. Studied theology at Princeton, and was for two years assistant teacher there, during which time he wrote "Biblical Antiquities." Professor in the Seminary at Allegheny, 1829-39. Professor of Theology at Mercersburg, 1840-51, and President of Marshall College, 1841-53. President of Franklin and Marshall College, 1866-76. Subsequently lived in retirement at Caernarvon Place near Lancaster, where he died, June 6, 1886.

peculiar interest. It was known that he had devoted some attention to the study of German theology, and this fact was greatly in his favor. All this, however, does not adequately account for the fact that he was unanimously chosen. It was suggested that the Presbyterian Church would not suffer him to withdraw from its communion, but Dr. Fisher replied: "If we can satisfy him that it is his *duty* to take charge of the professorship at Mercersburg, the whole Presbyterian Church combined cannot prevent him from doing so."²⁴¹

Messrs. Schneck and Fisher were appointed a committee to present the call, and in the depth of winter they crossed the Alleghanies in a sleigh to perform their mission. To Dr. Nevin their visit was a great surprise and he naturally desired time for consideration. In reaching a decision he

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. W. Nevin". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

seems to have been greatly influenced by Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton, who was deeply impressed with the importance of the work which he had been called to perform among the Germans of Pennsylvania. In his letter of acceptance dated March 5, 1841, after explaining his motives and relating in detail the difficulties which he had overcome, Dr. Nevin said: "Thus do I feel myself constrained to go into the German Reformed Church. Let it not be thought, however, that I go reluctantly or coldly into her communion, now that the duty is settled. I go, indeed, with fear and trembling; but I carry with me

²⁴¹ "Life and Work of John Williamson Nevin," by Theodore Appel, D.D., p. 95.

my entire will. I give myself wholly to the German Reformed Church, and find no difficulty in making her interests my own. No church can boast of a better creed, or a better ecclesiastical framework. Her fathers rank high in the history of the Reformation. The spirit of a time-hallowed faith, such as could once make martyrs, older than the Presbyterianism of Scotland, is still enshrined in her articles and forms, and the German Church in this country has become a rising interest. No section of our American Zion is more important. None embraces vaster resources of power in proportion to its limits. None exhibits a richer intellectual ore, available in the same way for the purpose of religion. I find no lack of considerations here to enlist my sympathies or to stimulate my zeal. I can go heartily into such a church, and in this spirit I now accept the call of your synod to the professorship at Mercersburg." It is in this utterance that we find the secret of Dr. Nevin's subsequent success and influence. He identified himself so completely with German thought and life that the German Church accepted him with unreserved confidence. There have probably been few eminent men who have been less concerned to advance their personal interests. Personally he was dignified and reserved, and his courtesy never descended to familiarity. At first his pupils were inclined to fear him, though it was not long until they learned to appreciate the profound interest with which he regarded them.

When Dr. Nevin and his family arrived in Mercersburg, in the spring of 1840, Dr. Rauch and his young wife received them with the utmost kindness. In disposition and manners the two professors were very unlike, but they immediately conceived for each other a warm personal affection. During the year which they spent together Dr.

Rauch was greatly concerned to direct the studies of his colleague in German theology and philosophy, and it actually seemed as if he was unconsciously preparing the way for his successor.

Dr. Rauch gradually declined in strength, though no one supposed that he was suffering from serious illness. His death, which occurred on the 2d of March, 1841, appears to have been due to a general physical collapse, brought on by incessant labor. He was buried at Mercersburg, but his remains have since been brought to Lancaster where an appropriate monument has been erected to his memory.

The death of Dr. Rauch was a great blow to the educational interests of the Reformed Church, but Dr. Nevin proved equal to the occasion. For three years he had sole charge of the theological seminary, assisted only by an instructor in Hebrew, and at the same time serving without salary as President of Marshall College. At the same time he studied Schleiermacher, insisting, however, that "his grand ideas could be separated from the rationalism of the times in which they were uttered." He also made himself familiar with the writings of Neander, Nitzsche, Rothe and other great German theologians.

In 1841 the Reformed Church held a centenary celebration in commemoration of its establishment in this country, though no particular event was selected as worthy of special honor. The celebration was not general, but within its limits it awakened the interest of the Church, and considerable additions were made to the endowment of the institutions. A centenary hymn beginning "Thou who art enthroned in Glory," was written by Mrs. Lydia Jane Peirson and set to music by Dr. Schneck. In it occur the following stanzas:

“ We would celebrate the changes
Which a hundred years have made,
Since our fathers—poor and strangers—
Sought the Western forest shade.

“ From Helvetia’s mighty mountains
Came a little friendless band ;
By the rich Rhine’s infant fountains
Others left their fatherland.

“ Here the little vine, increasing,
Spread its branches green and fair,
Now, by thine especial blessing,
See how wide thy vineyards are.”

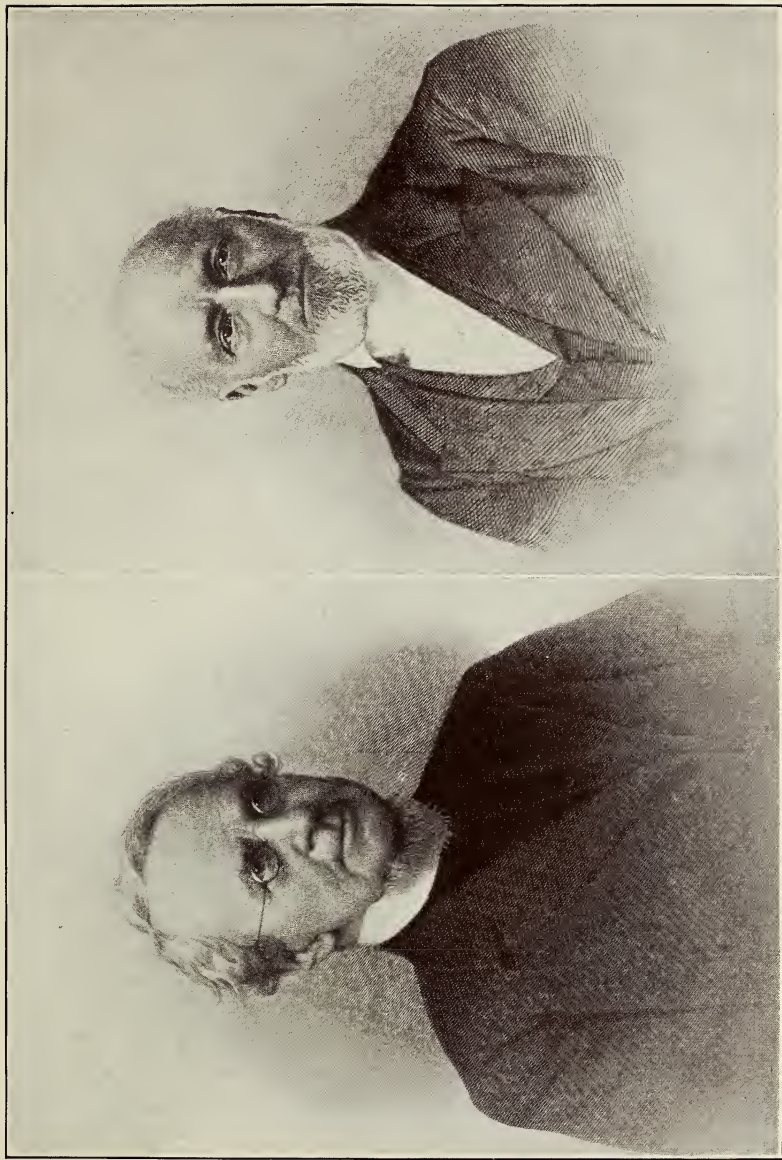
To this celebration Dr. Nevin contributed a series of articles on the history of the Heidelberg Catechism, which were subsequently rewritten and published in a small volume.²⁴²

When Dr. Nevin accepted the call to Mercersburg, his learning was fully acknowledged, but no one imagined that he would become a great controversialist. His controversies, however, were rarely personal. He seemed to care little for literary reputation, but when once aroused in behalf of some great principle he was absolutely destitute of fear. The writer once heard Dr. Schaff say: “ Dr. Nevin’s mind is like the Corliss engine—it takes a great deal of fuel to get it started, but when it works it works wonders.”

The first of these controversies was induced by his constitutional opposition to religious fanaticism. The congregation at Mercersburg was about to call as its pastor an extreme representative of unchurchly pietism, but this act was prevented by Dr. Nevin’s indignant protest. This led to the publication of his tract on “ The Anxious Bench,” which was extensively circulated in all denominations, and

²⁴² “ History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism,” Chambersburg, 1847.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



REV. J. W. NEVIN.

REV. PHILIP SCHOFF.

called forth no less than six replies. It was not, as has sometimes been supposed, an attack on revivals of religion ; but was rather intended to show that true revivals must grow out of the true life of the Church, and must not be arbitrarily imposed upon it from without, or accompanied by what the author called "Montanistic extravagancies." It is not too much to say that this little book changed the current of thought and life in the German churches of Pennsylvania.²⁴³

In January, 1843, a special meeting of the synod was convened at Lebanon, Pa., to elect a German professor and successor to Dr. Rauch. That a call was extended to the Rev. Dr. F. W. Krummacher, of Elberfeld, Prussia, is somewhat remarkable, for Krummacher was the foremost preacher in Germany, holding a position which was much more prominent than the one to which he was called. It is, however, well known that there had been earlier correspondence, and that Krummacher was not disinclined to remove to America. The Rev. Drs. Benjamin S. Schneck²⁴⁴ and Theodore L. Hoffeditz²⁴⁵ were appointed commissioners "to convey the call to Dr. Krummacher and by all suitable representations to urge its acceptance."

The visit of the delegates to Germany, in the summer of 1843, naturally attracted much attention. Dr. Krummacher was at first inclined to accept the call, but the church in Germany was greatly excited by the prospect of his removal, and the King of Prussia actually forbade it.

²⁴³ See Jacobs's "History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," American Church History Series, Vol. IV., p. 418.

²⁴⁴ Benjamin S. Schneck, born near Reading, Pa., March 14, 1896 ; died at Chambersburg, Pa., April 14, 1874. Preceptor, Dr. F. Herman. First editor of the *Messenger* and *Kirchenzeitung*. Author of "The Burning of Chambersburg," "Mercersburg Theology," etc.

²⁴⁵ Theodore L. Hoffeditz, born in Karlshaven, Germany, died at Nazareth, Pa., Aug. 10, 1858. An eminent and influential pastor.

In a most affectionate letter of declination Dr. Krummacher said: "I stand before you, my soul deeply moved, tendering you my hand with the double assurance that I lay down the honor conferred upon me by your call at the feet of Him to whom all honor is due, and that in future I shall feel myself to be one of your number, and that as long as I breathe, I shall not cease to bear the interest of your beloved church with a praying heart before the throne of God."

Though this declination involved a great disappointment to the American Church, it is not impossible that it was a blessing in disguise. Dr. Krummacher was at that time forty-seven years old, imperfectly acquainted with the English language, and accustomed to social conditions which in those days could hardly have been reproduced in America. In this country his magnificent German sermons would not have been fully appreciated, and he might have found it difficult to accommodate himself to the religious order of a republic.

Unwilling to return to America without having in any



way accomplished the purpose of their mission, the commissioners submitted the nomination of a candidate for the professorship to a number of the most eminent theologians of Germany, prominent among whom were Neander, Julius Müller, Tholuck and Krummacher. These men finally agreed to nominate Dr. Philip Schaff²⁴⁶ who was at

²⁴⁶ Philip Schaff was born at Chur, Switzerland, January 1, 1819; died in New York, October 20, 1893. Professor at Mercersburg, 1844-63. Secretary of New York Sabbath Committee, 1864-69, and after 1870 Professor of Sacred Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Author and editor of more than fifty volumes.

that time a *privat-docent* in the University of Berlin. The name of Dr. J. A. Ebrard²⁴⁷ afterwards an eminent theologian—was also suggested—but Dr. Schaff was preferred on the ground that he was “a republican Swiss,” and might reasonably be expected to accommodate himself more readily to new conditions. On this recommendation Dr. Schaff was elected professor of theology, at Winchester, Va., on the 19th of October, 1843.

Before leaving Germany the young professor preached a sermon at Elberfeld which subsequently gave him a good deal of trouble. In it he spoke with great freedom of the moral and religious character of a large part of the German emigration to America; and as garbled extracts from this discourse were published in the German papers of this country, he had before his arrival become unpopular with many of his countrymen.

Dr. Schaff was admitted to membership in the Reformed Church in the United States at a meeting of Synod convened in Zion's Church, Allentown, Pa., October 17, 1844. The church, of which the father of the author was at that time pastor, had but recently been erected on the site of the old Reformed Church in which the Liberty Bell and the chimes of Christ Church, Philadelphia, were concealed during the Revolution.


At Reading, on the 25th of October, Dr. Schaff was installed in his professorship. On this occasion he delivered an address entitled “The Principle of Protestantism,” which was subsequently enlarged and published,

²⁴⁷ John Henry Augustus Ebrard was born January 18, 1818, at Erlangen, where his father was pastor of the French Reformed Church. He was successively professor at Zurich and Erlangen and was a voluminous author. His *Christliche Dogmatik* was for some years used as a text-book at Mercersburg. As a writer of religious fiction he became well known under the pseudonym of “Gottfried Flammberg.” He died July 23, 1888.

with an introduction by Dr. Nevin. In this publication both professors defended the doctrine of historical development, holding that Protestantism can be successfully defended as the organic development of all that has gone before; that it is, in fact, "the full ripe fruit of all the better tendencies of the middle ages."

All this may now appear trite and commonplace, but in those days it appeared new and startling. It so happened that the acknowledged leader of the Anti-Romanist party was a minister of the Reformed Church—a man who had always taught that everything connected with the mediæval church was utterly and irremediably evil—and he could not suffer such utterances to pass unchallenged.

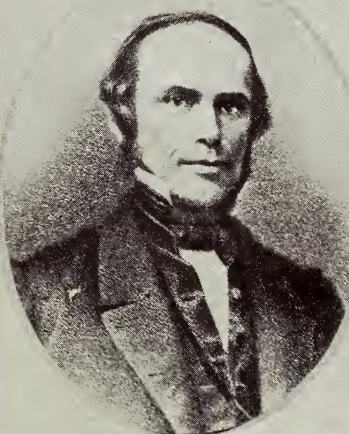
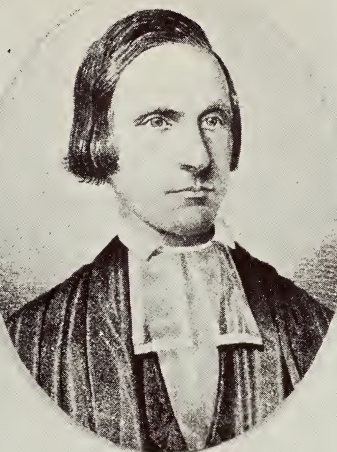
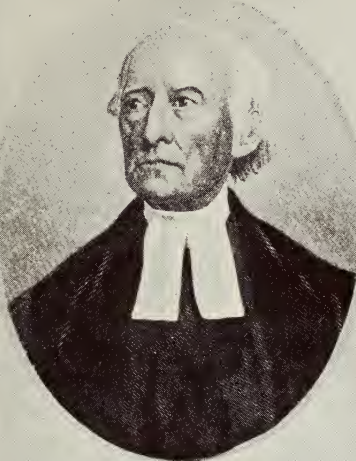
Dr. Joseph F. Berg was at that time pastor of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia.²⁴⁸ He was a man of unusual ability and had been engaged in several public controversies which had attracted wide attention. Mainly through his influence the Classis of Philadelphia passed a series of resolutions condemning the "Principle of Protestantism," and directing the attention of Synod to the



teachings of its professors. The consequence was an investigation at the Synod of York, in 1845, which lasted four days, and finally resulted in the exoneration of the

²⁴⁸ Joseph F. Berg was born June 3, 1812, in Antigua, West Indies, where his parents were Moravian missionaries. Having entered the Reformed Church, he was for some time professor in Marshall College, and subsequently pastor in Harrisburg and Philadelphia. Having entered the Reformed Dutch Church he was pastor in Philadelphia and professor at New Brunswick. Editor of the *Protestant Quarterly*; author of "Christian Landmarks," etc. Died at New Brunswick, N. J., July 20, 1871.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA.



MINISTERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

PHILIP MILLEDOLER.
ELIAS HEINER.

JOSEPH F. BERG.
J. H. A. BOMBERGER.

professors from all the charges preferred. As Dr. Schaff was most directly concerned, it has been termed his trial for heresy, though it was not technically a trial. When all was over he made a speech in broken English expressive of his delight at his deliverance. "If the result had been otherwise," he afterward said, "I would have gone right back to Berlin."

It is not our purpose to describe the Mercersburg controversies in all their successive stages. However interesting this might prove to the professional theologian, it would hardly prove attractive to the general reader. For the sake of completeness we may perhaps be permitted to say that in 1846 Dr. Nevin published his "Mystical Presence: A Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," a book which attracted wide attention and has been held to mark an epoch in the history of American theology.

In 1848 the alumni of Marshall College undertook the publication of the *Mercersburg Review*, and Dr. Nevin was until 1853 its editor and chief contributor. In the same year Dr. Schaff began the publication of *Der Kirchenfreund*, a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the German churches of Pennsylvania. The establishment of these periodicals demanded courage and devotion, but they gradually attracted the attention and support of eminent men who stood outside of the denomination with which their editors were immediately connected. In the *Review* most of Dr. Nevin's controversial articles appeared, and the *Kirchenfreund* was especially useful in giving the German churches of America a proper conception of the best thinking of the fatherland.

Dr. Nevin's literary work was mostly occasional, and much of it has passed away with the conditions that pro-

duced it. In many instances his purpose was misunderstood and this led to opposition that was not entirely deserved. Thus, for instance, his articles on "Cyprian" and "Early Christianity," which have been held to reveal a Romanizing tendency, were actually intended to oppose the Tractarian movement in England by showing that the peculiarities of Rome had existed at an earlier period than the Puseyites asserted.

It is difficult to treat on this subject without entering more deeply into theological questions than present conditions will permit; but it may be confidently asserted that there was little in these controversies which could properly be called denominational. They represented a movement in the life of the Church, rather than any peculiar system of faith. Dr. Nevin was a profound realistic philosopher, and naturally regarded the Church from his peculiar standpoint as a divine organism that is not dependent on earthly conditions for its origin or continued existence. Though the questions which he raised have never been definitely answered, they have for the time been superseded. Dr. Nevin published few volumes; but he has left behind him traditions of his power which shaped and moulded the denomination with which he was connected. In the judgment of his successors the Reformed Church in this country has had no greater teacher than John Williamson Nevin.

In literary work Dr. Schaff was much more active than his eminent colleague. At Mercersburg he wrote his "History of the Apostolic Church," which appeared in German in 1851, and was afterwards translated under the supervision of the author. He also published a German hymn-book (1859), "America" (1854), "Germany: Its Universities and Divines" (1857), "History of the Christian

Church of the First Three Centuries" (1858), besides minor tracts and essays.

Influenced by the example of the professors many younger men engaged in literary pursuits. Dr. Henry Harbaugh continued the historical work of Dr. Mayer and published two volumes of his "Lives of the Fathers." Other authors of this period were J. H. A. Bomberger, E. V. Gerhart, Thomas C. Porter, George W. Williard and Jeremiah H. Good.

In 1851 Dr. Nevin resigned his professorship of theology, but Dr. Schaff remained in Mercersburg until 1865. Dr. Bernard C. Wolff²⁴⁹ was professor of systematic theology from 1852 to 1864, when he was succeeded by Dr. Henry Harbaugh. Elnathan E. Higbee²⁵⁰ was the suc-



E. E. HIGBEE.

cessor of Dr. Schaff. In 1857 a theological tutorship was established, partly on the basis of a fund invested in Ger-

²⁴⁹ Bernard C. Wolff, D.D., born at Martinsburg, W. Va., Dec. 11, 1794; died at Lancaster, Pa., Nov. 1, 1870.

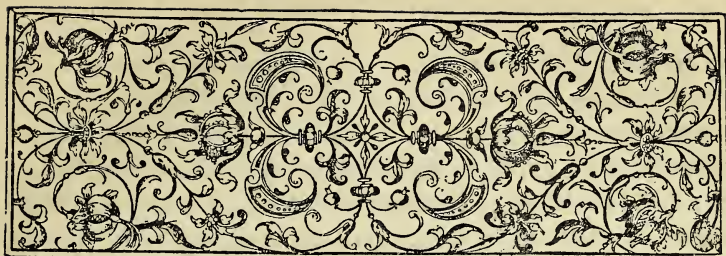
²⁵⁰ Elnathan Elisha Higbee, D.D., LL.D., born near Burlington, Vermont, March 27, 1830; died, Lancaster, Pa., Dec. 13, 1889. Author of several beautiful hymns. At the time of his death he was Superintendent of Public Schools for the State of Pennsylvania.

many, the gift of Baron Von Bethmann-Hollweg. This tutorship has since been raised to a full professorship.

In 1853—as already stated—Marshall College was removed to Lancaster and consolidated with Franklin under the title of Franklin and Marshall College. The Theological Seminary remained in Mercersburg until 1871, when it was also removed to Lancaster, where both institutions have since been successfully conducted. There are now larger faculties and finer buildings, but for their enthusiasm, energy and literary labor, the days of old Mercersburg are still affectionately remembered.²⁵¹

That the Reformed Church suffered in some respects during the Mercersburg controversies is freely acknowledged. In the heat of controversy many imprudent things were said; and it has been asserted that the Mercersburg movement suffered more from its friends than from its enemies. A few extremists left the Church and several important congregations were lost. Especially during the Liturgical controversy, which grew out of the theological conflicts of Mercersburg, the struggle sometimes assumed a personal form which was greatly to be regretted; but with all this we must also recognize the fact that during this stormy period the Reformed Church in the United States grew more rapidly than it had ever done before. Though there were many discouragements, there was also much energy and enthusiasm; and for earnest study and productive literary activity the Mercersburg period is unequalled in the history of the Church.

²⁵¹ The successive presidents of Franklin and Marshall College since its establishment in Lancaster have been the Rev. Drs. Emanuel V. Gerhart, John Williamson Nevin, Thomas G. Apple, and John S. Stahr. Dr. Thomas G. Apple (1829-1898) was at the same time president of the college and professor of Church History in the seminary. Rev. Dr. E. V. Gerhart is now the President of the faculty of the theological seminary, and there are five professors.



CHAPTER XX.

EXPANSION.

The West and South—Missions—The Widows' Fund—Publications.



THE decline of the Reformed Church had been mainly due to the lack of an educated ministry; but now that educational institutions had been established there was a prospect of brighter days. Dr. Rauch had suggested that the Reformed Church should declare its adherence to the Church Union of Prussia, turning over the western field in this country to the *Kirchverein des Westens*. There was, however, a Reformed Synod of Ohio, which had grown up independently, and now, when young men from the East connected themselves with it, there was a prospect of effective work beyond the western limits of Pennsylvania.

Beginning with the labors of Christman, La Rose, and others the scattered ministers of Ohio, as already stated, had in 1824 organized a synod. There was no actual disagreement on questions of doctrine and usage between

the synods of the east and west, but for some years there was a certain lack of coöperation. The Ohio Synod was constrained to depend upon its own efforts, and several attempts were made to establish a theological institution. In 1838 the Rev. J. G. Buettner, Ph.D., a well-educated German, took charge of several congregations in the neighborhood of Canton, Ohio, and the synod appointed him professor of theology. He prepared several students for the ministry,²⁵² and was regarded with the profoundest reverence. That he was a man of great ability there can

²⁵² The following is an extract from a letter to the author from the late Rev. Dr. J. H. Good, dated March 11, 1885: "Your reference to Dr. Buettner, in your sketch, reminds me of a funny anecdote which I recently heard. It is perfectly authentic, because it comes from one of his students.

"The ministers of the Ohio Synod then were all uneducated men; had read six or twelve months privately with ministers and had no scholarly, theological attainments. After the two students of Dr. Buettner had studied with him for some time a meeting was appointed at Canton in order that they might be examined and licensed. But here a great difficulty arose; none of the ministers would venture to examine them, and especially in the presence of the learned Dr. Buettner. So they pitched on the Rev. C. Z.—(an excellent practical man) as chairman, and expected that he would conduct the examination. But he was just as badly scared at the prospect as the rest. On the day appointed the committee, the students and Professor Buettner were assembled at Canton. No one would commence until the chairman arrived. The day wore away and towards evening Z. arrived from Canfield. He was astonished that the examination was not over; said he was unexpectedly called to a funeral; further he was so tired with his ride and preaching that he would adjourn the examination until the next morning. Buettner lived at Osnaburg, some twelve miles away; mounted his horse saying that he would return in the morning. The committee then *cunningly* fixed on a very early hour, hoping to get through before Buettner could ride over in the morning. Early in the morning they were all assembled. Z. arose to ask the first question, when, happening to look out of the front window, what was his consternation to see Dr. B. riding up to the palings of the fence, deliberately dismount, hitch and enter in his dignified way. Not a word would come from the lips of any of the committee. Enter the professor and after greetings he said: '*Hat die Prüfung schon angefangen?*'

"Responds Z.: '*Die Examination ist vollendet und die Studenten sind entlassen!*'" Not a single question was asked. They were duly licensed. Of course, they kept *mun* about telling this to Dr. Buettner. He felt elated because *his students had passed so well!*"

be no doubt; but he found it impossible to accommodate himself permanently to the conditions of American life and returned to Europe. He was the author of several small volumes, and after his return to the fatherland published an account of his American experiences. In this country he was well known for his controversy with the rationalists of St. Louis.

Heidelberg College, at Tiffin, Ohio, was founded in 1850 in close connection with the Western Theological Seminary. Here labored such men as Drs. E. V. Gerhart, Moses Kieffer, Jeremiah H. Good, George W. Williard, George W. Aughinbaugh and other early graduates of Marshall College.

Signs of progress now began to appear in other directions. In the South some territory was regained, and in 1851 Catawba College, at Newton, N. C., was founded. The German immigration to the West was largely increasing, and through the efforts of a number of self-sacrificing men a large number of members were gathered into the Reformed Church. Though the missionaries were generally of foreign birth, those who were most prominent had been closely connected with the Eastern Church. Max Stern, who has been called "the missionary *par excellence*," and H. A. Mühlmeier, the founder of the "Missionshaus," an important institution in Wisconsin, had studied theology in Mercersburg; and H. J. Ruetenick, the founder of Calvin College, at Cleveland, Ohio, had entered the ministry as a member of the Classis of East Pennsylvania. Especially interesting, in this connection, would be the history of the settlement in Wisconsin of a colony of devoted people from Lippe Detmold, who proved themselves active and energetic in every good work; but it does not properly fall within the scope of our present study.

Ursinus College,²⁵³ in Collegeville, Pa., was founded in 1869; but it may be well to recall the fact that its founder, the Rev. Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger, and several of his most eminent coadjutors had been educated at Marshall College. The importance of Mercersburg as an educational center must therefore be recognized.

MISSIONS.

The Board of Domestic Missions was organized in 1826. Before that time there had been a Committee on Missions, and it was usual to require young ministers to undertake a missionary journey before accepting a regular charge. As congregations and individuals had been accustomed to take their own way in such matters, years passed before they could generally be persuaded to entrust their contributions to the Board, though its importance is now generally recognized. It is to the efficient labors of this Board that the extension of the Church was mainly due. Missions are now conducted in the English, German, Hungarian and Bohemian languages. The Harbor Mission in New York extends necessary aid to recently arrived immigrants. In recent years the establishment of church-building funds, which furnish loans to indigent congregations, has led to gratifying results.

The Board of Foreign Missions was organized in 1838. At first the work was done in conjunction with the American Board of Foreign Missions, and the Rev. Benjamin Schneider, D.D., who was at first a missionary at Broosa, in Asia Minor, and afterwards at Aintab, in Syria, was mainly supported by the contributions of the Reformed

²⁵³ Rev. Henry T. Spangler, D.D., is President of Ursinus College. Rev. James I. Good, D.D., is Dean of the Ursinus School of Theology which is now located in Philadelphia.

Church. His wife published a volume entitled "Letters from Broosa," which did a great deal to awaken an interest in the cause. In 1865 the Reformed Church withdrew its contributions from the American Board, and for some years little was done, except that some of the churches contributed to the support of the missionaries of the German Evangelical Missionary Society at Bismarck, India. In 1878 the Board selected Japan as a suitable place for missionary labor, and since that time a flourishing mission has been maintained in that country. A mission has also recently been undertaken in China. In this country the Board has aided a mission among the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin. It must, however, be confessed that in this department of Christian activity the Reformed Church has not accomplished as much as might reasonably have been expected.

THE WIDOWS' FUND.

This is the most ancient charitable organization in the Reformed Church. Its establishment was first suggested by Michael Schlatter in 1755, in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, but in consequence of his withdrawal from Coetus the matter remained in abeyance for a number of years. The necessity of such a fund was, however, apparent, for as a rule the ministers were poor, and at their death their families were frequently left in destitute circumstances. When Schlatter, in 1751, brought six young ministers to America, the Holland deputies assured them that they should have a salary of four hundred and fifty Belgian florins (about \$180), besides perquisites, "which is considered sufficient in Pennsylvania." Alsentz complained, in the minutes for 1765, that the salaries were "not enough to live on and too much to die on." In 1785

Helffrich reported that the salaries of ministers ranged from £75 to £150, Pennsylvania currency—that is, from \$80 to \$160, but only the pastors in Philadelphia, Germantown and Baltimore received the latter sum. Under such circumstances it was, of course, literally impossible to make provision for the future, and the death of a minister was sure to be followed by actual suffering on the part of those whom he held most dear. In 1773 the Dutch Reformed Church in this country undertook to establish a fund for the relief of disabled ministers and the widows of ministers, and it was probably this movement that induced the ministers in Pennsylvania to carry out the plan which Schlatter had proposed. According to Professor Hinke the organization was effected in 1775; and gifts from Holland, amounting to \$360, constituted the nucleus of the fund. In this connection the original constitution of the Widows' Fund may be found interesting. It is embodied in the following report sent to Holland in 1787 by the Rev. John H. Helffrich:

“STATEMENT OF THE WIDOWS' FUND.

“We the undersigned ministers of the Evangelical Reformed Church and members of the Rev. Coetus, of Pennsylvania, having taken into consideration at a former meeting our outward circumstances, have noticed with some concern that our annual income, even with careful economy, is barely sufficient to support us and our families, much less to save some money. And since at the death of the father even this ceases, the surviving widow and children must necessarily be thrown into straitened circumstances, the former being deprived of the necessary support in her old age, and the latter of a thorough education. We have therefore unitedly resolved to contribute

something of our own means for the establishment of a widows' fund under the following regulations :

“*Art. 1.* Every member shall contribute annually as long as he lives the sum of two pounds ‘in specie,’ and whoever does not remit his payment on the day set for this purpose, shall pay a fine of 1 penny per day.

“*Art. 2.* The time of payment shall be the annual meeting of the coetus.

“*Art. 3.* Whoever marries more than once shall pay each time the double amount for that year, namely four pounds.

“*Art. 4.* In case a member is excluded from the coetus, he shall be at liberty to continue his payments, and after his death his widow and children shall receive their share, as if no such exclusion had taken place.

“*Art. 5.* Whoever fails to pay three times in succession, loses his right and excludes his family from the benefit of the fund.

“*Art. 6.* The annual interest, accruing from the money thus deposited, shall be equally distributed among the widows of such ministers who have made the proper payments. Each one shall receive her share as long as she is a widow.

“*Art. 7.* If a minister leaves no widow, but children, the share falling to the widow shall be paid to the child or children being under fourteen years of age. Each child is to receive an equal share till the age specified above shall have been reached.

“*Art. 8.* If the coetus in case of absolute necessity need some money for the support of ministers, the money may be borrowed from the widows' fund with the consent of all the ministers present. But in order to secure the refunding of this money to the widows' fund together with the interest from the day it was paid, either from the do-

nations from Holland, or, if they be wanting, from the personal property of the ministers, the president and secretary of coetus must obligate themselves and their successors by a bond to the treasurer of this fund and his successors.

“*Art. 9.* The members shall obligate themselves by their own signatures to observe these regulations.”

The fund in 1787, amounted to £338, 6s.2d. The earliest document now in possession of the society is dated May 1, 1790.

Though the funds were faithfully invested and applied, the society was never as popular as might have been expected, and many ministers failed to become members. It was, however, incorporated by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1810. This charter appears to have been cumbrous and defective, and in 1832, when the synod appointed Dr. B. C. Wolff and others a committee to inquire into the condition of the society, it was found that there were but four surviving members, and that but two widows were receiving its benefits. The surviving ministers were Caspar Wack, William Hendel, D.D., Samuel Helffenstein, D.D., and Thomas Pomp. The synod having expressed a desire that the society should be perpetuated, the surviving members cheerfully transferred the funds to the reorganized society, under the sole condition that the widows who were receiving annuities should not be deprived of them. By a change in the charter the benefits were made applicable to destitute ministers and widows throughout the entire Church, instead of confining them to residents of the State of Pennsylvania, as had hitherto been the case. Since that time the society has been more prosperous, and, though the annuities remain small, much good has been accomplished. The Daniel

Stine Memorial Hall, at Myerstown, Pa., was in 1896 presented to the society by Mrs. Linda S. Kaub, of Philadelphia. It is intended to provide a comfortable home for disabled ministers and their wives, and for the widows of ministers during their declining years.

PUBLICATIONS.

That the early ministers of the Reformed Church engaged somewhat extensively in literary work has already appeared; but it was not until 1805 that the Synod, by issuing its *Synodal-Ordnung*, first engaged directly in the work of publication. This pamphlet was printed at Lancaster by Henry and Benjamin Grimler. Subsequently for some years the printing of the Church appears to have been divided between Conrad Zentler, of Philadelphia, and Gruber and May, of Hagerstown. The Minutes of Synod were for the first time printed in 1817. The earliest periodical was the *Magazine of the Reformed Church*, which appeared in Carlisle, Pa., in 1828, under the auspices of the Board of Missions. It was continued in this form until 1832, when the title was changed to *The Messenger of the Reformed Church*; and with slight changes in title it is still published.

In 1829 Dr. Samuel Helffenstein began the publication of a German magazine, entitled *Evangelisches Magazin*, which was subsequently edited by the Rev. John H. Dreyer. Dr. D. Zacharias, in 1834, published *Der Herold*, which was soon discontinued. Then, in 1835, Dr. B. S. Schneck began to publish *Der Christliche Herold*, and in 1837 Dr. John C. Guldin started *Die Evangelische Zeitschrift*. The two papers last mentioned were in 1837 united and for many years published as *Die Christliche Zeitschrift*. Finally the title was changed to

Reformirte Kirchenzeitung, and as such it is now published in Cleveland, Ohio.

Many periodicals have been published in the interests of the Reformed Church at various times and places, and it is of course impossible here even to enumerate their titles. According to the "Almanac of the Reformed Church" for 1901, the whole number of periodicals at present issued under the authority of the Church is twenty, but this does not include the publications of literary institutions under the care of the Church.

The "Printing Establishment" at Chambersburg was founded in 1840 and was, after 1844, under the care of



SAMUEL REED FISHER.

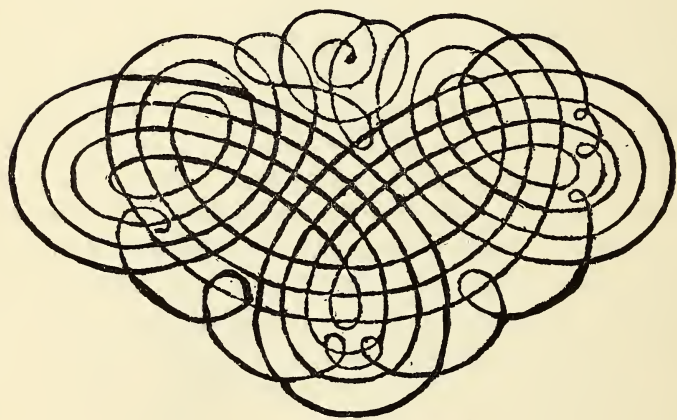
the Board of Publication. It was not at first successful, but in 1848, at a time of great depression, three ministers came forward and offered to conduct the publications of the Church on their own responsibility, paying the Synod an annual bonus for the privilege. The ministers thus

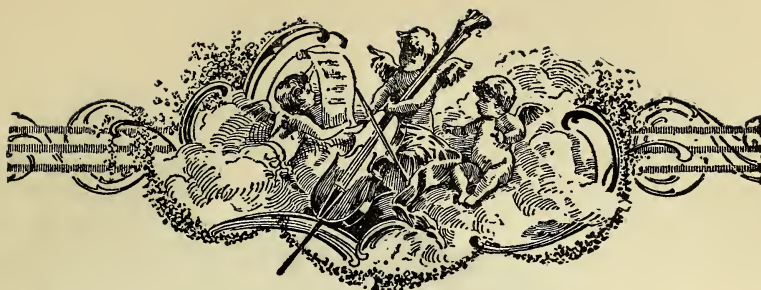
associated were the Rev. Drs. Moses Kieffer, B. S. Schneck and Samuel R. Fisher, subsequently known as the firm of M. Kieffer & Co. For fifteen years this firm successfully conducted the publications of the Church and then transferred the entire interest to the Synod at a price much lower than its real value. This generous action was so highly appreciated that the Synod spontaneously added to the purchase money the sum of one thousand dollars as a testimonial of gratitude for many years of faithful service.

The country was at that time engaged in a dreadful war, but no one anticipated that the "Printing Establishment" could possibly be in danger. Many expensive improvements had been made and it was proposed to publish a series of important works in denominational literature. Then a calamity occurred which in a few hours swept away the accumulation of years. On the 30th of July, 1864, a detachment of the Southern army entered Chambersburg and laid the greater part of the town in ashes. The "Printing Establishment" was entirely destroyed, nothing being saved from the wreck but some stereotype plates and account books which were preserved in a fire-proof vault. The loss to the Church, at a moderate estimate, was \$43,000. It was a trying time, but Dr. S. R. Fisher, who had general charge of the publication interests, manifested great courage and energy. He immediately removed to Philadelphia and in three weeks *The Messenger* was once more in the hands of its subscribers. Since that time the Board of Publication has, under varying conditions, conducted its operations in Philadelphia. The chief centers of publication throughout the Church have been Philadelphia and Reading, in Pennsylvania, and Dayton and Cleveland, in Ohio.

From all this it may be seen that the second quarter of

the nineteenth century was in a peculiar sense a formative period in the history of the Reformed Church. There were many discouragements, but there were strong men who believed that the Church had a mission to perform in this country and were stretching every nerve for its accomplishment.





CHAPTER XXI.

THE TERCENTENARY YEAR.

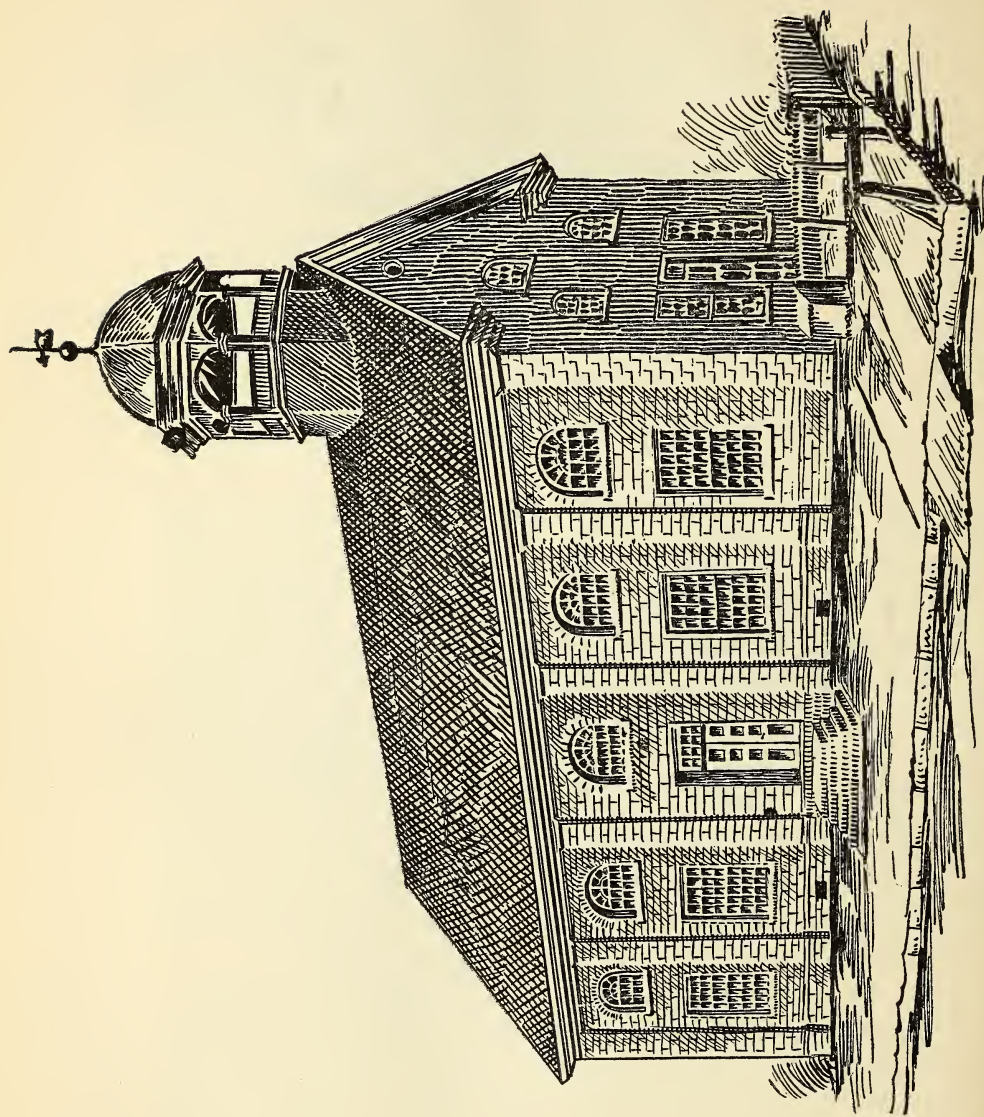
The Festival of the Catechism—Henry Harbaugh—Orphan Homes—The General Synod.



THE celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism, in the year 1863, gave a new impetus to the work of the Reformed Church and contributed greatly to its consolidation. It was felt that the time had come when the Reformed Church of this country might be expected

to manifest some of the fruits of its studies and struggles, and no more suitable occasion could be suggested than the tercentenary of its cherished confession of faith.

It is believed that the earliest suggestion for such a festival appeared in the *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung*, which was then edited by the Rev. Samuel Miller, but it was also proposed by the Rev. Dr. Henry Harbaugh in the first volume of his "Lives of the Fathers," and the latter



REFORMED CHURCH BUILT IN LANCASTER BY OTTERBEIN. TAKEN DOWN 1853.

became the acknowledged leader of the movement in its further development. He was, of course, aided by all the prominent men in the Church, but without his energy and enthusiasm it could hardly have proved so brilliantly successful. As he exerted an influence so extensive and beneficent, we may, perhaps, venture to make room for a sketch of his somewhat remarkable career.

Henry Harbaugh was born October 28, 1817, in Franklin County, Penn., very near the boundary line of Mary-

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "H Harbaugh". The "H" is large and stylized, with the first two letters of the last name being prominent.

land. The visitor to Pen-Mar—a pleasant summer resort on the South Mountain—may see the old homestead, apparently lying almost at his feet. The Harbaugh (*Herbach*) family was remotely of Swiss origin, and had always been earnestly attached to the Reformed Church.²⁵⁴ They were plain people, speaking the German dialect of Pennsylvania almost exclusively; but their descendant was proud of them, and in later life wrote reminiscences of his childhood with peculiar pleasure.

At an old schoolhouse near at hand Henry Harbaugh received his early education. It has been immortalized as "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick." That the instruction there imparted was rudimentary in the extreme need hardly be intimated. Under such conditions it was not easy to become an educated man. As a young man Harbaugh went to Ohio and labored as a carpenter and millwright, but several times lost his wages by the financial

²⁵⁴ "Annals of the Harbaugh Family from 1736 to 1856," by Henry Harbaugh, Chambersburg, Pa., 1861.

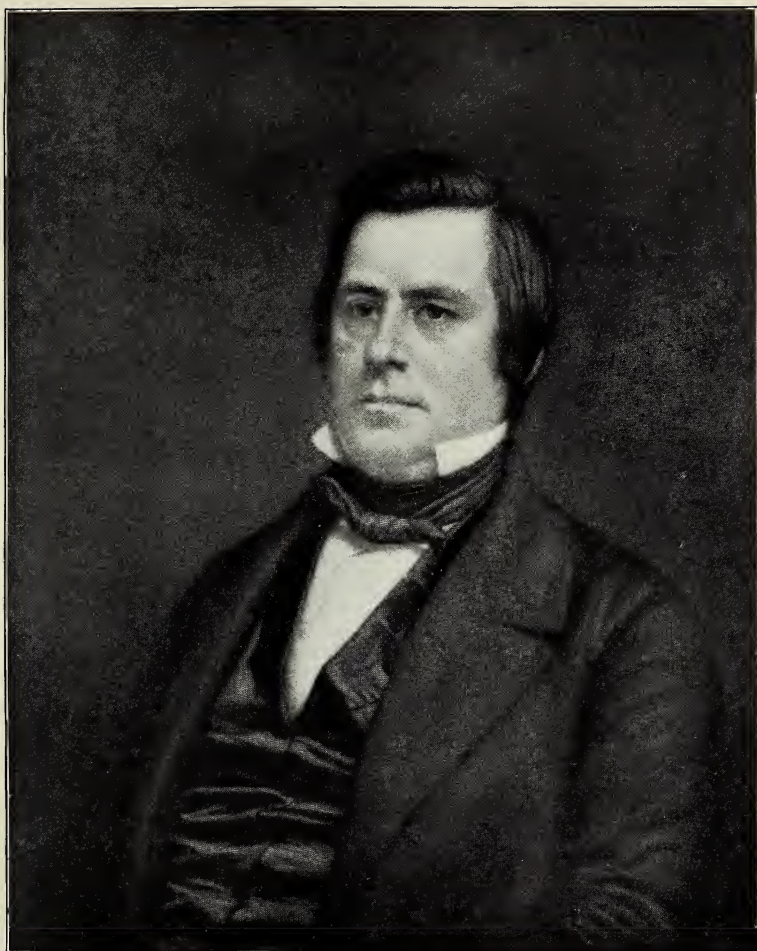
For a complete biography see "The Life of Rev. Henry Harbaugh, D.D.," by Linn Harbaugh, Esq., Philadelphia, 1900.

failure of his employer. In the meantime, however, he was privately studying with all his might. After a brief term in an academy he went to Mercersburg where he remained about three years, taking an irregular course in the college and academy. In those days his talents certainly failed to be fully appreciated; but his associates had no idea of the toil which he expended on what they may have regarded as rudimentary studies. Even at that time he devoted every moment of possible leisure to literary composition, and his verses soon began to appear anonymously in print. It was his purpose to prepare himself to communicate to others some of the culture which he had so laboriously acquired. Many years afterward he said to the present writer: "Do not write for fame, for that is vain, if not sinful; and do not write for money, for you are likely to be disappointed; but write for the advancement of your own people, for that is acceptable to God."

In 1850, while he was pastor at Lewisburg, Pa., he began the publication of *The Guardian*, a small monthly magazine devoted to the literary and religious interests of young men and women. It was entirely undenominational, and so it remained during the seventeen years in which Dr. Harbaugh continued its editor. The publication was unpretentious, but it accomplished a great deal of good. Sometimes the editor was compelled by the lack of acceptable contributions to write almost everything that was published in the magazine; and it was here that his best literary productions first appeared. It was in this way that he acquired fluency of style, and it has been well said that "it was *The Guardian* that made Dr. Harbaugh."

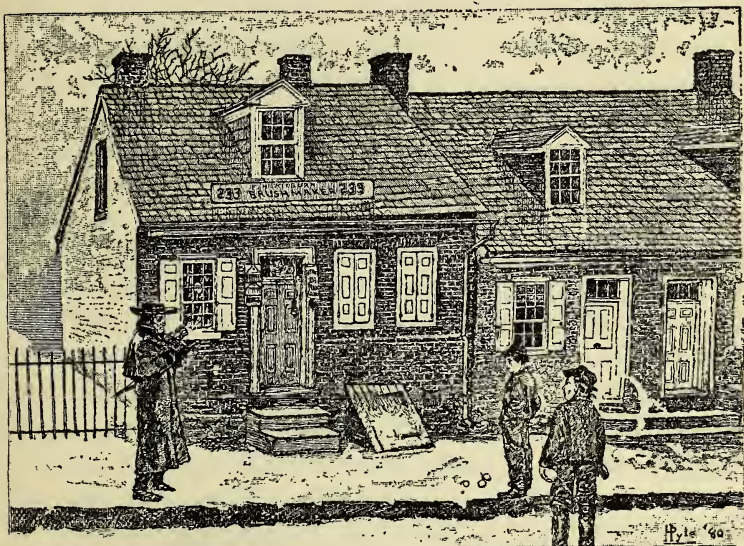
It was while he was pastor at Lancaster, between 1850 and 1860, that Dr. Harbaugh's pen was most prolific. He published three volumes on the Future Life, "The Birds

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HENRY HARBAUGH.

of the Bible," "The True Glory of Woman," "Poems," "Life of the Rev. Michael Schlatter," "Fathers of the Reformed Church," two volumes, and several minor publications. Others of his books were more extensively circulated; but the "Fathers" involved more labor, and may be said to have left the deepest impression. Harbaugh was the pioneer of local historians in the Reformed Church,



OLD HOUSES IN LANCASTER.

and though he made mistakes, as was to be expected, his successors have fully recognized the excellence of his work.

In 1860 Dr. Harbaugh became pastor of St. John's Church, Lebanon, and in 1863 was chosen professor of theology at Mercersburg. During the latter years of his life his literary work was mainly theological and devotional. In 1867 he was editor of *The Mercersburg Review*.

In the Theological Seminary he seemed to be in his element, and he was regarded as an instructor of the highest order. He died after a brief illness, December 28, 1867.

That Dr. Harbaugh was a man of extraordinary natural ability will not be denied. He overcame the defects of his early education to such a degree that Dr. Schaff could say of him, in a memorial article, "he found no difficulty in comprehending the most abstruse philosophy." In the expression of his convictions he was courageous and determined, so that some of his contemporaries regarded him as a radical. He became a powerful controversialist, but was at the same time genial and full of humor. He hated cant in all its forms, and his heart was full of sympathy for every kind of suffering. It was this fact above all others that brought him into touch with the people, so that whatever he wrote was read with eagerness. Several of his religious compositions—such as "Jesus I live to Thee" and "Jesus, my Shepherd"—have found their way into many hymn-books. His Pennsylvania-German poems were written in hours of leisure. Many of them are highly poetical and full of tenderness, and that they are still popularly remembered is not surprising. They were collected after his death and published as "Harbaugh's Harfe."²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ One piece, at least, was omitted from this collection, probably because it did not properly represent the Pennsylvania-German dialect. It is a macaronic composition, composed of Pennsylvania-German and English, but as such it is unique and worthy of preservation. It first appeared in a Church Almanac, edited by Dr. Harbaugh, directly following a conventional picture of a girl holding a sickle and a sheaf of wheat. Many of our readers will be pleased to read these curious verses:

"EN STICK ÜWERS AERDNFELD. VOM CALENNERMAN UFG'SETZT.

Die goldne Aern is wider do,
Die Hoyet is verbei;
Die geele Felder gucka froh,
Sie wäva schö im Wind, *you know*,
Un' Marga ge'en m'r nei.

It was while he was pastor in Lebanon that Dr. Harbaugh took the lead in making arrangements for the Tercentenary celebration. It was to be, first of all, "a sublime festival service to God," but it also demanded that the Church should throw its devout, joyous and zealous energies into all it proposed to do during the festival year. It involved the holding of a convention on the 19th of January, 1863, the enrollment of the names of all the members of the Church, and the reception of memorial free-

"M'r hot als mit der Sichel g'rupt—
 Wo's g'stanna hot, gerefft;
 Des war en Elend *many a day*,
 Von Schwitza un' von Buckelweh,
 Un' *soreness right* un' *left*.

"Der *Picture*, wo do o'wa steht,
 Is weit *behind the age*;
 M'r lacht wann m'r en Sichel seht,
 Un' *even's* Reff is ausgeplay'd—
Reapers sin now die *Rage*.

"En Sichel un' en Wätzaschäb
 Hot's Mädél in der Hand!
 Was macht der Drucker do for G'fräss?
 Sell basst yo gar net *now a days*,
 Die Mäd hen meh Verstand.

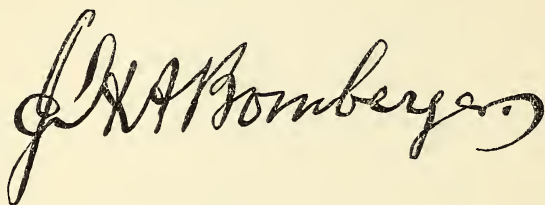
"En Mädél now im Aerndefeld
 Wär gut for Aageweh!
 Uf so en *Scene* sin des my *Strictures*,
 Sell loss da *Poets* un' da *Pictures*,
 'Sis nix *in our day*.

"Wer now en Aernde-*Picture* macht,
 Losst Mäd un' Sichel weg,
 Spannt Geil in *Reaper*, wie en *Stage*,
 Dann geht's *ahead in perfect rage*,
 Un' kracht in alle Eck.

"Wer des geplan'd hot der verdient
 Die *thanks* von *every soul*;
 Und doch en mancher dummer Trop
 Verlacht des Studya mit dem Kop—
 Sei e'gues kann er wohl."

will offerings, and the publication of several important volumes.

The principal convention was held on the 17th of January, 1863, in the old church on Race street, Philadelphia, of which the Rev. Dr. Bomberger was then pastor. The attendance was large and included pastors and representatives from many congregations. The convention continued in session six days, and original essays were read on subjects connected with the history and doctrines of the Heidelberg Catechism. The European contributions—mainly



secured by the influence of Dr. Schaff—were by the Rev. Drs. C. H. Hundeshagen, of Heidelberg; J. J. Herzog and J. H. A. Ebrard, both of Erlangen; C. Ullmann, of Carlsruhe, and G. D. J. Schotel, of Leyden. The American contributors were B. S. Schneck, T. C. Porter, H. Harbaugh, Theodore Appel, Thomas G. Apple, M. Kieffer, E. V. Gerhart, G. B. Russell, D. Gans, B. Bausman, J. H. A. Bomberger, B. C. Wolff, and Thomas De Witt, of the Reformed Dutch Church, New York. These essays were afterwards published in a large volume, entitled “The Tercentenary Monument.” It appeared in English and German; but the larger part of both editions was destroyed at the burning of Chambersburg, and it has now become quite scarce.

The amount of free-will offerings contributed during the Tercentenary year was \$108,125.98, from the Eastern

Syond alone. It was, for the times, a very respectable showing, and the effects of this benevolence were soon felt in every department of Christian activity.

The literary work of the Tercentenary year is not to be undervalued. Besides the "Tercentenary Monument," to which we have already referred, the Tercentenary edition of the Heidelberg Catechism was published by a committee of which Dr. Gerhart was chairman. It contained, besides a valuable historical introduction, the standard text of the Catechism in Old German, Latin, Modern German and English, printed in parallel columns. This book was printed in excellent style by Scribner, and is probably the finest edition of the Catechism ever published.

ORPHAN HOMES.

In 1863 a young German minister, Emanuel Boehringer, at Bridesburg, Philadelphia, received into his family several orphan children. There was at that time much suffering among children whose fathers had lost their lives on the field of battle, and as yet the government had not completed arrangements for their relief. Mr. Boehringer's work, therefore, awakened sympathy and from this small beginning grew the Orphan Home at Bridesburg, which was in 1867 removed to Womelsdorf, Berks County, and is now known as "Bethany."

Other Orphan Homes have since been established. St. Paul's, at Butler, Pa., was founded in 1868, and is a successful institution. Several similar institutions have been established in the West, and so far as we know all are prosperous. There is no form of Christian charity that appeals so directly to the hearts of the people, and every year the work becomes more extensive and successful.

THE GENERAL SYNOD.

It was in the year 1863 that the first General Synod was convened. There had, indeed, since 1844 been a Triennial Convention, composed of delegates from the Reformed Dutch Church and the two German Reformed Synods, but it had been purely advisory and was of little practical value. The Dutch Church having withdrawn after the second meeting, the convention was continued in a somewhat modified form by the two German Reformed Synods, but it led to few practical results. A plan for the organization of a General Synod was defeated in 1858; but a second attempt proved successful—mainly, it is believed, in consequence of the enthusiasm awakened by the Tercenary celebration—and the first meeting of the General Synod was held in Pittsburg, November 18, 1863. With this event the organization of the Church may be said to have been completed. It marks the beginning of a period of greater liberality and more extended usefulness. The present prosperity of the Church, we feel assured, is in great measure derived from the sources of Christian charity that were brought to light during the Tercentenary year.





CHAPTER XXII.

CONCLUSION.

Change of Title—Liturgical Controversies—The Peace Movement—Practical Work—The End.



IT seemed at first as if the General Synod must prove an unsuccessful experiment. It was indeed boldly prophesied that elements so diverse could not long remain together. That there have been serious struggle is not to be denied; but with the passing of years better times have come, and there is now no threatening danger.

In 1869 the Church dropped "the foreign patial adjective"; and at the General Synod convened in Philadelphia in November of that year, the official title of the Church was officially declared to have been changed "from that of German Reformed to that of the *Reformed Church in the United States of North America.*" The change had become necessary in consequence of the prevalence of the English language, and yet it must be confessed that the

alteration has rendered the title less distinctive. The name "Reformed" has been so frequently employed as an adjective by other ecclesiastical organizations that there are frequent misunderstandings. People who are not familiar with the history of the Church are not aware that there is a denomination which has borne this title since the days of the Reformation and that it is historically the Reformed Church *proprie sic dicta*.

In its earlier history the General Synod was greatly disturbed by controversies concerning the preparation and adoption of a Liturgy. At the risk of repetition it may, perhaps, be well to say something concerning a conflict which is now happily concluded. In early days, as we have indicated, the Palatinate Liturgy was supposed to present the proper model, but practically individual pastors conducted the worship of the churches pretty much as they pleased. Dr. Mayer, in 1841, published a Liturgy which was formally adopted, but it was, in fact, only a book of forms for special occasions and was never extensively used. There was a general desire to escape from the prevailing confusion and in 1848 the Eastern Synod appointed a committee to prepare a liturgy for the use of ministers and congregations. As originally constituted this committee consisted of the Rev. Drs. John W. Nevin, Philip Schaff, Elias Heiner, B. C. Wolff, J. H. A. Bomberger, Henry Harbaugh, J. F. Berg, and elders, William Heyser, J. C. Bucher, C. Schaeffer and G. C. Welker. At a later date the names of Thomas C. Porter, Samuel R. Fisher and E. V. Gerhart, were added to the committee, and Daniel Zacharias was substituted for Joseph F. Berg, who had resigned. In 1861 Dr. Thomas G. Apple and L. H. Steiner, M.D., took the places of Dr. Heiner and Elder Heyser who were no longer living.

The work of preparing a liturgy advanced slowly, especially because the members of the committee were not agreed with regard to the proper interpretation of the instructions of synod. The majority were convinced that the times demanded worship that was more thoroughly liturgical than anything with which the Church had hitherto been familiar; while the minority desired to adhere closely to the precedents afforded by the early liturgies of the Reformed Church. In the course of discussion doctrinal differences were also developed. In 1857 the committee issued the "Provisional Liturgy" which, apparently in the hope of satisfying all parties, provided no less than four formularies for Sunday service. In 1861 the synod ordered this liturgy to be reconstructed and reappointed the earlier committee. At the first meeting it became evident that there was no agreement as to the principles on which the work should be done. Dr. Nevin prepared a report which was published as "The Liturgical Question," in which he took strong ground in favor of what he called "an altar liturgy." Dr. Bomberger²⁵⁶ replied in a pamphlet, entitled, "The Revised Liturgy." This was the beginning of a war of pamphlets which continued for several years. Even the celebrated Dr. J. A. Dorner, of Berlin, took part in the controversy and received an answer from Dr. Nevin.

In 1866 the "Order of Worship" appeared, and in the following year the Western Liturgy was published by the Synod of Ohio. Both liturgies were recognized by the General Synod as proper to be used; but the controversy increased in intensity, and at one time it seemed as if it

²⁵⁶ John Henry Augustus Bomberger, D.D., LL.D., was born in Lancaster, Pa., January 13, 1817; died, Collegeville, Pa., August 19, 1890. First graduate of Marshall College, 1837; first president of Ursinus College, 1869.

must result in schism. The questions at issue, however, were in 1878 submitted to a commission, representing all the district synods. Rev. Dr. C. Z. Weiser,²⁵⁷ who had first proposed the appointment of this "Peace Commission," became its chairman. One of the results of its labors has been the "Directory of Worship," which was in 1887 adopted by the Church, and is now its normal liturgy.

Much attention has been given to cultus and discipline. The "Reformed Church Hymnal," published in 1890 has generally superseded earlier collections, and is acceptable



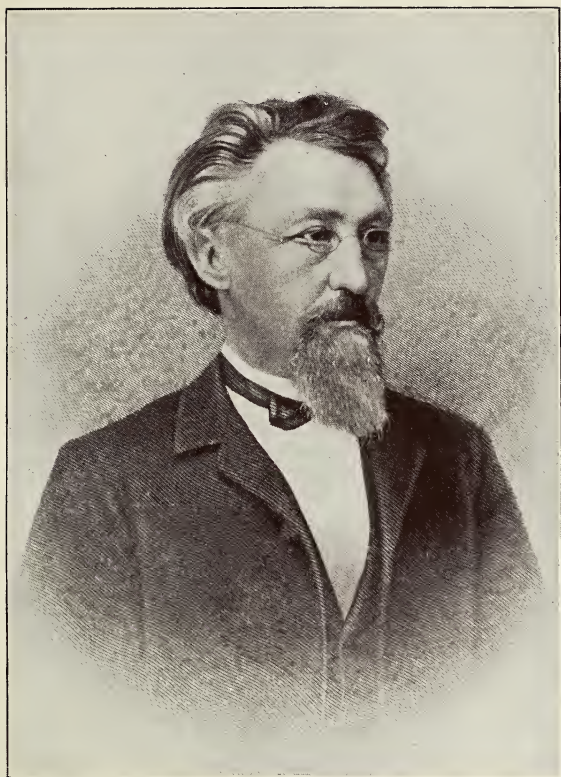
to the churches. For many years the Church has been engaged in the work of revising its constitution, which is felt to be in many respects deficient; but the work is not yet satisfactorily concluded.

In recent years much attention has been given to practical church work, and the result has been an encouraging degree of prosperity. Women's Missionary Societies and Young People's Societies have labored earnestly in their chosen fields. We also have the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, Heidelberg League, Christian Endeavor, and other well-known institutions.

In the cause of Christian union the Reformed Church has occupied an advanced position. It has participated in the successive meetings of the "Alliance of Reformed

²⁵⁷ Clement Zwingli Weiser was born, Selinsgrove, Pa., Oct. 29, 1830; died, East Greenville, Pa., Mar. 1, 1898. He was the author of "Life of Conrad Weiser," and of several other volumes.

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CLEMENT Z. WEISER.

churches holding the Presbyterian System." Several efforts to unite the German and Dutch branches of the Reformed Church have proved unsuccessful. In 1891 both churches voted in favor of organic union, but the Dutch Church, which had taken the lead in this union movement, finally withdrew from it, for reasons which have been described as "technical" but have never been fully explained. The German Church is now "the Reformed Church in the United States," and the Dutch Church is "the Reformed Church in America," which may be said to indicate a distinction without a decided difference.

According to the statistical reports of 1899 the General Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States now includes eight district synods,²⁵⁸ of which three are prevalingly German; 57 classes; 1,079 ministers; 1,660 congregations; 242,831 members.

In Pennsylvania there are 323 ministers, 861 congregations and 133,922 communicants. In these statistics we have not included unconfirmed members, that is, children and contributing members who are not communicants.²⁵⁹

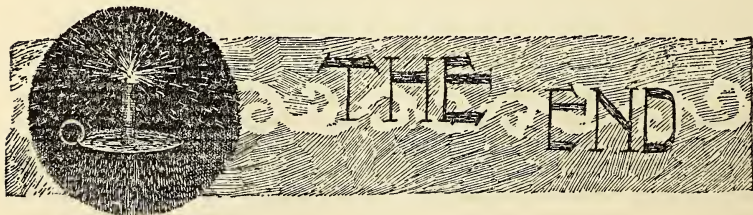
²⁵⁸ The General Synod, which meets triennially, includes the following distinct synods: Eastern Synod, Ohio Synod, Synod of North-west, Pittsburg Synod, Potomac Synod, German Synod of the East, Central Synod, and Synod of the Interior.

²⁵⁹ We have not included eight congregations of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America which in 1893 numbered 1,756 communicants. See Carroll's "*Religious Forces*." There are also a few independent German congregations concerning which we have no information.

In concluding this paper the author desires to renew his thanks to all the friends who have aided him in its preparation. Mr. Julius F. Sachse has his especial thanks for the general appearance of the volume and for its well-chosen illustrations. Rev. Prof. William J. Hinke has kindly furnished efficient aid, especially for the period of the Coetus, and has contributed photographs and title-pages, besides preparing a bibliography. To many other friends acknowledgments are due.

In the preceding pages we have given special attention to the history of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania ; but we have found it impossible to limit our observations to this narrow field. A single member of an organization can have no separate history. Pennsylvania, as the original home of many pioneers in other sections of the country, may, however, be regarded as presenting a characteristic type of the Reformed Church, and from this point of view we have found its history deserving of particular study.

To the general reader our story may present few passages of unusual interest. It relates the religious experiences of a plain people who, in general, have quietly worshipped God after the manner of their fathers. Even now the Reformed Church is neither as numerous nor as influential as it might have been if its history had been uniformly prosperous ; but when we recall its early trials, and especially the difficulties which necessarily attend a change of language, its losses are at least intelligible. Its history as a whole is, however, honorable and encouraging. For learning and energy its leaders have been among the foremost, and through trials innumerable its course has been upward and onward. Whatever may be the religious and social antecedents of the future historian, he will not hesitate to recognize the Reformed Church as an important factor in the making of Pennsylvania.





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3. *Worship.*

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Liturgien zum Gebrauche Evangelisch Reformirter Gemeinen,
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(Only known copy owned by the Rev. Prof. John H. Sechler, D.D.)

Kirchenformularien für die Evangelisch Reformirten Gemeinen.
Germantown, 1798.

(Copy owned by the Rev. Prof. Jos. H. Dubbs, D.D.)

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Liturgie oder Kirchen Formular der Hochdeutsch Reformirten Kirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten. Chambersburg, 1842.

(German edition of the Mayer Liturgy.)

A Liturgy or Order of Christian Worship. Philadelphia, 1858.

(Provisional Liturgy.)

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(German edition of Western Liturgy.)

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Geistreiche Lieder, Welche von den Reformirten Kirchen gebraucht werden. Germantown, C. Saur, 1752.

Neu-vermehrt und vollständiges Gesangbuch, worinnen sowohl

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Germantown, C. Saur, 1753.

Neu-wermehrt und vollständiges Gesangbuch. Second edition.
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——— Third edition. Germantown, 1772.

——— Fourth edition. Philadelphia, 1774.

Das neue und verbesserte Gesangbuch. Philadelphia, Steiner u.
Kämmerer, 1797. (First hymn-book of Synod.)

——— Second edition. Germantown, M. Billmeyer, 1799.

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——— Fourth edition. Germantown, 1813.

——— Fifth edition. Germantown, 1814.

——— Sixth edition. Germantown, 1828.

——— Ninth edition. Sumneytown, 1850.

Das Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch. First edition. Baltimore,
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——— Third edition. Baltimore, 1818.

——— Fourth edition. Reading, 1827.

——— Fifth edition. Greensburg, 1828.

——— Later edition. New York, 1866.

Hertz, Daniel. Poetischer Himmelsweg. Lancaster, 1828.

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**Neues Reformirtes Gesangbuch zum Gebrauch der Evangelisch
Reformirten Gemeinen.** Pennsylvania, 1829. (Contains
699 hymns.)

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Liedern aus dem Reformirten Gesangbuch.** Lebanon,
1829.

Winebrenner, John. A Prayer Meeting and Revival Hymn-
Book. Harrisburg, 1834.

Smith, Henry. Church Harmony. Chambersburg, 1833.
Later edition, Chambersburg, 1847.

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Bibighaus, Henry. Sonntagschul-Gesangbüchlein. Chambers-

burg, 1840. 2d edition, Philadelphia, 1845. 4th edition, Philadelphia, 1866.

Herman, C. G. *Der Sänger am Grabe.* Kutztown, 1842. 6th edition, Kutztown, 1873.

Berg, J. F. *The Saints' Harp.* Philadelphia, 1843.

Sammlung *Evangelischer Lieder zum Gebrauch der Hochdeutsch Reformirten Kirche.* Chambersburg, 1842. Second edition, Chambersburg, 1843. Later edition, Chambersburg, 1850.

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Deutsches Gesangbuch. Herausgegeben von Phil. Schaff. Philadelphia, 1859. Enlarged edition, Cleveland, 1874. Pocket edition, Cleveland, 1884.

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Hymns for the Reformed Church. Philadelphia, 1874. (Eastern Hymn-Book.)

Sonntagschul-Gesangbuch der Reformirten Kirche. Herausgegeben von den deutschen Synoden. Cleveland [1876].

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Schwing, Henry. *Tunes for Worship.* Philadelphia, 1884.

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The Hymnal of the Reformed Church in the United States.
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 Cleveland, 1897.
Lorenz, E. Himmelwärts. Eine Sammlung geistlicher Lieder.
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4. *Catechization.*

a. Catechisms.

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 Catechismus. Germantown, C. Saur, 1748.
Katechismus oder Kurtzer Unterricht Christlicher Lehre. Phila-
 delphia, Peter Miller & Co., 1762.
 (First German edition of the Heidelberg Catech. printed
 in Pennsylvania. A copy in library of F. and M. College.)
 ——— Philadelphia, H. Miller, 1768.
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 ——— Germantown, Leibert & Billmeyer, 1786.
 ——— Philadelphia, Carl Cist, 1790.
 ——— Philadelphia, Steiner & Kämmerer, 1795.
 ——— Germantown, M. Billmeyer, 1804.
 ——— Philadelphia, C. Zentler, 1807.
 ——— Reading, Joh. Ritter & Co., 1811.
 ——— Germantown, M. Billmeyer, 1812.
 ——— Easton, C. J. Hütter, 1812.
 ——— Philadelphia, James Stackhouse, 1814.
 ——— Philadelphia, G. and D. Billmeyer, 1816.
 ——— Philadelphia, G. and D. Billmeyer, 1818.

- Katechismus** oder Kurtzer Unterricht Christlicher Lehre. Germantown, M. Billmeyer, 1819.
- Reading, Joh. Ritter & Co., 1822.
- Easton, H. and W. Hütter, 1826.
- Reading, Joh. Ritter, 1826.
- Philadelphia, G. W. Mentz, 1841.
- Chambersburg, 1841.
- Der Kleine Reformirte Katechismus.** Philadelphia, H. Schweizer, 1800.
- Reading, Joh. Ritter & Co., 1823.
- Kurzer Inbegriff** der Christlichen Lehre. Nebst einen Kurzgefassten Kirchengeschichte. Lancaster, Joh. Albrecht, 1804.
- Allentown, H. Ebner & Co., 1823.
- Becker, Christian Ludwig.** Kurzer Entwurf der Christlichen Lehre. Lancaster, Johann Albrecht, 1805.
- Hanover, Starck & Lange, 1808.
- Lancaster, Hamilton & Ehrenfried, 1810.
- Harrisburg, Gleim & Wiestling, 1811.
- Friedrichstadt, C. T. Melsheimer, 1813.
- Hauptinhalt** der Christlichen Lehre, nebst einer kurzgefassten Kirchengeschichte. Lebanon, Jakob Schnee, 1808.
- Reading, H. B. Sage, 1816.
- Reading, H. B. Sage, 1821.
- Zusammenhang** der Christlichen Lehre nach Anleitung des Heid. Catechismus. Lebanon, Jakob Schnee, 1810.
- Lebanon, J. Hartman, 1818.
- Catechismus** für die Jugend in Reformirten Schulen. Philadelphia, Jakob Meyer, 1810.
- Helffenstein, Samuel.** Kurze Unterweisung in der Christlichen Lehre. Philadelphia, C. Zentler, 1810.
- The Heidelberg Catechism** or Method of Instruction in the Christian Religion. Hanover, Starck & Lange, 1810.
- (First known English edition printed in Pennsylvania.
Copy in library of F. and M. College.)
- Philadelphia, G. W. Mentz, 1820.
- Philadelphia, G. W. Mentz, 1829.

The Heidelberg Catechism or Method of Instruction in the Christian Religion. Hagerstown, Gruber & May, 1830.

—— Philadelphia, G. W. Mentz, 1831.

—— Philadelphia, G. W. Mentz, 1837.

—— Chambersburg, Office of Publication, 1846.

Herman, L. F. Catechismus der Glaubenslehren und Lebenspflichten der Christlichen Religion. Reading, Joh. Ritter & Co., 1813.

—— Reading, Joh. Ritter & Co., 1819.

—— Philadelphia, Lippincott & Co., 1854.

Rahausen, Jonathan. A Short Extract from the Heidelberg Catechism. Ein Kurzer Auszug aus dem Heid. Catech. Hagerstown, Gruber & May, 1817.

—— Lancaster, Joh. Bear, 1821.

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Helffenstein, Samuel. A Short Instruction in the Christian Religion. Carlisle, 1818 (German and English).

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—— Allentown, Blumer & Busch, 1844.

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[Helffrich, Johannes.] Christlicher Unterricht der Religion. Allentown, H. Ebner, 1826.

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—— Weisenburg, 1852.

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—— Allentown, A. & W. Blumer, 1838.

Hess, Samuel. Kurzgefasster Unterricht der Christlichen Religion. Easton, Heinr. Held, 1843.

Fisher, S. R. The Heidelberg Catechism Simplified. Chambersburg, 1850. Eleventh edition, Chambersburg, 1863.

Harbaugh, Henry. The Heidelberg Catechism with Proof

- Texts and Explanations as used in the Palatinate. Translated by H. Harbaugh. Chambersburg, 1854.
- Strassburger, N. S.** The Child's Catechism. First edition, 1861.
- Revised edition. Philadelphia, 1889.
- Schaff, Philip.** Katechismus für Sonntag Schulen. Chambersburg, 1861.
- Christlicher Katechismus. Chambersburg, 1862.
- Philadelphia, ———.
- A Christian Catechism. Philadelphia, 1880.
- Steiner, L. H.** Catechesis Religionis Christianæ seu Catechismus Heidelbergensis. Baltimore, 1862.
- Schaff, Philip.** Der Heidelberger Katechismus. Philadelphia, 1863.
- Philadelphia, 1866. Revised edition.
- Heidelberg Catechism.** Tercentenary Edition. In Latin, English and German. New York, 1863.
- Harbaugh, Henry.** The Child's Catechism. Philadelphia, 1867.
- Whitmer, A. C.** Child's Catechism on the Bible. Philadelphia, 1868.
- The Heidelberg Catechism.** Text of the Tercentenary Edition. Heidelberg Catech. nach kritisch revidirtem Text. Cleveland [1877] (German and English).
- Good, J. H.** The Heidelberg Catechism specially arranged. Tiffin, 1879.
- Tiffin, 1899.
- [**Ruetenik, H. J.**] Der Heidelberger Katechismus. Verbesserte Ausgabe. Cleveland, 1881.
- [**Good, J. H.**] The Children's Catechism for Sunday-schools and Families. Tiffin, 1881.
- The Youth's Catechism. Tiffin, 1891.
- [**Van Horne, David.**] The Shorter Heidelberg Catechism. Philadelphia, 1881.
- Fifth edition. Philadelphia, 1886.
- Sixth edition. Philadelphia, 1888.

- Gerhart, E. V.** Child's Heidelberg Catechism. Philadelphia, 1882.
——— Revised edition. Philadelphia, 1896.
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(Usually called Palatinate Catechism.)
- Snyder, N. Z.** The Order of Service with the Heidelberg Catechism arranged. South Bethlehem, 1891.
- Heidelberger Katechismus.** Zum Gebrauch der Deutsch Reformirten Kirche. Philadelphia, 1893.
- Zesch, Ferdinand O.** Fragen und Antworten nach dem Heidelberger Katechismus. Cincinnati, 1893.
——— Cleveland, 1895.
- Vollmer, Philip.** Der Heidelberger Katechismus in kurze Fragen zergliedert. Philadelphia, 1894.
- The Heidelberg Catechism and the Constitution.** Philadelphia, 1897.
- Martin, C. T.** Heidelberger Katechismus. Second edition. Cleveland, 1898.
- Vollmer, Philip.** Kleiner Heidelberger Katechismus mit deutschem und englischen Text. Cleveland, 1898.
- Spangler, Aaron.** The Heidelberg Catechism with Questions for the Catechetical Class and Sunday School. Cleveland, [1899].
- Mosser, H.** The Heidelberg Catechism and the Catechist's Assistant. Reading, 1899.
- Terborg, J. E.** Der Heidelberger Katechismus für den Schul- und Confirmanden Unterricht bearbeitet. Milwaukee, 1901.
b. Helps on the Heidelberg Catechism.
- Fisher, S. R.** Exercises on the Heidelberg Catechism. Chambersburg, 1844.
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376 *The Reformed Church in the United States.*

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Columbus, 1850.

Ursinus, Zacharias. Chambersburg, 1852.

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Reformirte Heilslehre vom einigen Trost. Predigten über den
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Theleman, Otto. An Aid to the Heidelberg Catechism. Translated by Prof. M. Peters. Reading, 1896.

5. *Government.*

Der Reformirten Kirchen in Pennsylvanien Kirchen-Ordnung,
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Philadelphia, 1748.

(A copy in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical
Society.)

Synodal-Ordnung des hochdeutschen Reformirten Synods.
Lancaster, 1805.

Kirchenordnung der Reformirten Kirche durch eine Committee
zur Annahme vorgeschlagen. Harrisburg, 1827.

Hochdeutsche Reformirte Kirchenordnung von den Classen
genehmigt und von der im Jahre 1828 zu Mifflinburg ge-
haltenen Synode angenommen. Sumneytown, 1830.

The Constitution of the German Reformed Church in the United
States, adopted by the Synod of Mifflinburg. York, 1832.

Synodal Ordnung der Hochdeutschen evangelisch reformirten
Synode von Ohio. Lancaster, Ohio, 1832.

The Constitution of the German Reformed Church in the United
States, adopted by the Synods at their annual sessions, A.
D. 1846. Chambersburg, 1846.

Constitution der Allgemeinen, unabhängigen, freyen, hoch-
deutschen, evangelisch reform. Synode von Pennsylvanien
und den anliegenden Staaten. Pottsville, 1850.

(Constitution of the so-called Stiely Synod.)

The Constitution of the Reformed Church in the United States

as approved by General Synod at Reading, 1893. Dayton [1893].

(The necessary number of Classes failed to adopt it.)

Reasons why the New Constitution should be adopted. 1897.

Earnest Words about the New Constitution. 1897.

The New Constitution. 1897.

6. *Poetry.*

Becker, Christian L. Musik bei der Einweihung der neuen Orgel in der Hochdeutsch-Reformirten Kirche zu Baltimore. With original hymns. Baltimore, 1809.

Helffenstein, Samuel. Lieder zur Erbauung. Philadelphia, 1810.

Van der Sloot, F. W. Gottgeheiligte Gesänge zur feierlichen Einweihung der neuen hochdeutschen Kirche in den nördlichen Freiheiten. Philadelphia, 1819.

Harbaugh, H. Poems. Philadelphia, 1860.

Harbaugh's Harfe. Herausgegeben von B. Bausman. Philadelphia, 1870. New edition, Philadelphia [1897].

Heisler, D. Y. Wreathed Cross. A Collection of Poems. Easton, 1879.

Dubbs, Jos. H. Home Ballads and Metrical Versions. Philadelphia, 1888.

Zesch, T. A. Teutonia. Ein Declamatorium. Cleveland, 1894.

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